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JPRS Report

East Europe

29 JUNE 1987

EAST EUROPE

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POLISH, REGIONAL REACTIONS TO GORBACHEV'S REFORMS EXAMINED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 May 87 pp 154-155

[Article by Adam Michnik: "The Great Counter-Reformer"]

[Text] Who is Gorbachev? A reformer or a ham actor? A politician who is aware of the fact that the Great Reform is an indispensable condition for strengthening the Soviet state? Or a slick demagogue who realizes that he needs to fake a reform in order to divert trends in world politics which are unfavorable to the Soviet Union?

The whole world wonders. The Poles, too, are racking their brains about it.

Although distrust of Soviet declarations is one of the most enduring features of Polish thinking, there are some specific characteristics about the current reaction to the changes occurring in the Soviet Union which cannot be overlooked.

Let us begin with the power elite. In spite of the declarations of support for Gorbachev, the Jaruzelski team appears to have been caught off guard by the Soviet "restructuring" plans. The very people who just a few years ago were being told by Moscow to adopt a tougher line are now doing their best to cut the flow of information from the Soviet Union down to a minimum.

News about violations of the law, about the workings of the Soviet legal system or about concrete plans for reform are being reported in abbreviated form by the Polish party press or simply kept from the public by the censorship authorities. At the same time, something almost unbelievable has happened in Poland: public interest in Soviet publications is on the rise. For the first time ever, copies of the Moscow weekly OGONYOK are sold out.

This is the reason why Jaruzelski's men, even when they are proclaiming their support for Gorbachev, emphasize the fact that they do not intend "to copy the Soviet model automatically"--which constitutes an astounding declaration of sovereignty. The fact is, they say, that Poland has already completed its own "restructuring program."

But behind these statements there obviously is a lot of fear. The authors can feel the incipient dynamics of change which might dispatch them to political limbo.

The situation in which the Jaruzelski team finds itself is anything but enviable. It has achieved calm inside the country and that is the only political achievement with which it can be credited; but this does not fulfill the promise of normalization. It has not succeeded in coping with the economic crisis and the only reforms the consequences of which Poles thus far enjoy are the price reforms and the concomitant impoverishment of the population.

The Polish economy is suffocating inside the straightjacket of communist doctrine. The deepening crisis is even leading to conflict within the ruling party apparatus. Is it any wonder under these circumstances that Jaruzelski and his team are afraid that an opposition might arise within the apparatus whose program would logically be a Polish "restructuring process?"

This is a horrible prospect for Jaruzelski. To legitimize his rule, he was able to count on the support of Moscow and the obedient repressive apparatus. Both are gradually becoming questionable.

But even in these opposition circles there are no real Gorbachev enthusiasts. The picture of Soviet change appears unclear; the commentators cannot find their bearings. Only the "rigid group" remains sure of itself in categorically dismissing any thought of positive change in the Soviet Union. Drawing on historical arguments, they maintain that a totalitarian system is simply not equipped to establish self-corrective mechanisms which might bring about internal reform. The only thing which remains is a drawn-out struggle leading to the ultimate destruction of the Soviet empire.

In arriving at this conclusion, the "rigid group," oddly enough, is in full agreement with its most bitter enemies. After all, Jaruzelski, too, is impatiently waiting for Gorbachev's reformist momentum to subside. He has lived through so many restructuring programs by now that he only believes in the one he himself instituted in Poland on 13 December 1981 at the time martial law was imposed.

The Polish "neo-liberals," on the other hand, are favorably disposed toward Gorbachev. This grouping, which has been growing in importance over the past several years, considers Gorbachev's policies to be a return to Lenin's NEP or New Economic Policy model.

Based on their realization that political change cannot take place in Poland at this time, they are limiting their program to economic demands. We accept the leadership role of the party in line with the Leninist formula, these adherents of Milton Friedman's theories are saying, but the party should allow us to operate a liberal economy: it should say yes to private property and to a capitalist marketplace.

The "neo-liberals" seem to believe that the Jaruzelski team might decide in favor of this program given the seriousness of the crisis, their fear of pressure by the underground "Solidarity" movement and the changes in the

Soviet Union. But can the communist party apparatus really relinquish its hold on the country's economy?

There is more of caution than optimism in the way Gorbachev is being assessed. In my 25 years as an electrician, Lech Walesa said to me, I always had to tighten or loosen one screw or another. In tightening them, I only broke one over the years; but in trying to loosen them, I must have broken several hundred. And as for Gorbachev, he just keeps on loosening...

Jacek Kuron takes a different view. In trying to bring about reform, he says, Gorbachev is engaging in a struggle with his own apparatus. Under these circumstances, he will have to try to appeal to public opinion and those social forces from which support for his reforms might come. But such a conflict will inevitably cause elements of pluralism to emerge and this, in turn, will ultimately lead to self-determination within Russian society and among the other nations of the Soviet empire.

But what I am really wondering about is whether Gorbachev is a genuine reformer.

Polish humanism owes an interpretation of the idea of "counter-reformation" to Leszek Kolakowski, the philosopher, which not only rejects criticism of reformation as such but also includes the assimilation of said criticism, resulting in the adjustment of traditional structures to a change in living conditions. In other words, counter-reformation does not constitute restoration of prior conditions but represents an attempt to restructure an institution from the inside. It is a powerful act of self-criticism which aims to incorporate the values which have developed outside the institution and against its will so that they cease to be hostile and revolutionary.

Thus, if one starts out with the premise that "Solidarity" was a great reformist movement within the communist sphere of influence, then Gorbachev deserves the title of "Great Counter-Reformer." That is the meaning of "reform from above" and this, then, is the counter-reformation designed to save the communist system.

By successfully organizing the workers in opposition to the communist state, "Solidarity" deprived communism of its fundamental claim to legitimacy. "Solidarity" proved that positive change can only come about if the limitations of political doctrine are transcended; if the rigorous principle of communist party leadership is relinquished and if a democratic society is thereby restored.

Gorbachev, made the wiser by the Polish experience, is now trying to save communism from this type of unmasking and has drawn up a package of ideas and slogans to achieve this goal. As they become part of the CPSU program these ideas lose their unequivocally anti-totalitarian thrust. The partial neutralization of the dissidents is a measure of Gorbachev's skill. Their spokesmen are forced constantly to reiterate that the changes in the Soviet Union are nothing but a propaganda comedy.

But it is not a comedy. Mikhail Gorbachev's policy is a result of the generational conflict within the Soviet party apparatus. It is a result of technological backwardness and the war in Afghanistan which has been going on for years. And, finally, it is a result of the fear of military confrontation and the hard line pursued by President Reagan.

Gorbachev is not a comedian; he is a counter-reformer.

However, this counter-reformation--and that is where I agree with Walesa and Kuron--may have a decisive impact on Russia. Gorbachev is being driven in the direction of definite change both by the logic of the struggle about the restructuring program and the power struggle within the Soviet leadership. At the same time, his awareness of the experience of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, China (the resignation of the CP general-secretary) and Yugoslavia must give him pause.

One might say that change is both unavoidable and fraught with risk. Without it, the Soviet empire faces the threat of internal rot; but its realization could be tantamount to opening a Pandora's box. All the demons of Soviet communism might come out and take revenge for the years of silence. It is therefore impossible to predict what the situation inside the Soviet Union will be like in the years to come. We can merely try to establish criteria for the evaluation of such change.

There is but one criterion for a reliable diagnosis of the political goals of reform and that is respect for human rights.

The freeing of several hundred prisoners and the surprising (albeit merely partial) rehabilitation of Prof Andrei Sakharov--these are major signs which tell us that things are really moving in the right direction in Russia.

The police is gradually being replaced by the political process; repressive measures are gradually being replaced by political dialogue. Greater cultural freedom, "glasnost" in the area of information--these are first steps along the way toward an actual place for public opinion.

But there is an obvious limit to these changes. It is defined by the level of support for Gorbachev's policies. The acid test for the restructuring program will arrive the moment that policy is subjected to criticism. Only then will it become apparent whether we are witnessing a process moving toward the restoration of a democratic society in the Soviet Union or merely looking at a Potemkin village of democratic facades and totalitarian foundations.

But what could Poland get out of this restructuring program? In contrast to the CSSR, for example, no one will go public with the slogan "We Want Gorbachev" in Poland. The Polish situation is different because we have a mighty and independent Catholic Church. We have had an independent public opinion for the past 10 years and independent institutions of public life. Positive change in Poland depends on a dialogue between the state authorities and these very institutions. To be sure, changes in the Soviet Union could have an impact on such a dialogue.

Understandably, Western public opinion was impressed when the Soviet media published uncensored interviews with Margaret Thatcher and Zbigniew Brzezinski. For their part, however, Poles were apt to liken Soviet publication of an interview with Polish primate, Cardinal Josef Glemp to that proverbial swallow which announces the arrival of spring.

For the first time ever, a Polish church leader had been given an opportunity to express his views in a Soviet newspaper. For the first time ever, the fact was officially acknowledged that there is a powerful institution in Poland, independent of the government power structure, enjoying the respect of large segments of the population. It also demonstrated for the first time that there is a Polish partner for dialogue with communist Russia in addition to the communist party apparatus.

The joint declaration by Gorbachev and Jaruzelski of 21 April may also be considered significant. It states that there must no longer be any "white spots" in modern historical research dealing with Polish-Russian relations, even as far as "dramatic episodes" are concerned. There is hardly a Pole alive today who did not understand this statement to mean that the truth about the mass murder of Polish officers at Katyn would at long last be divulged.

These are significant events which confront political thinking in Poland with new questions.

Because it cannot be ruled out that the Moscow counter-reformation will open up new prospects for the Polish people. Hopes for such change in Polish-Russian relations and the expectation that conflict will turn into dialogue are by no means absurd.

Given these considerations, the widespread anti-Russian phobia among the Polish people is hardly helpful. The anti-Russian sentiments among the Poles are understandable--but not always for the Russians themselves. They should give way in the face of the attempt to understand Russian history and the Russian present better.

If the Soviet leaders are considering various models for a new order in eastern Europe, it may be assumed that Jaruzelski and his people will present "Solidarity" to them as a movement consisting of people who feel "that the only good Russian is a dead Russian." That is one of the lies which needs to be disproved by "Solidarity" time and again.

Let me sum up: the Moscow counter-reformation could open the way to new thinking about the philosophy of political compromise. It can teach us to make use of compromise in order to resolve international conflict as well as social conflict inside the nations of the real socialist camp. It is worthwhile to pin one's hopes on this type of compromise today even though one should not forget that the totalitarian underpinnings of Soviet institutions have been left untouched.

Many skeptical questions remain open. Does the gradual, peaceful evolution of the Soviet Union toward democratic institutions constitute a genuine opportunity for the world? Is real communism flexible enough to accept the functioning of independent public opinion? Will the transformation process not be blocked by the obstructionist pressure of the conservative power apparatus? And what about the natural demands of the subject peoples, e.g. the Ukrainians, Georgians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Kazhaks and many others, for more freedom: will the Soviet reformers not shrink from fulfilling them?

Our hope struggles with our despair. But how can we live without hope?

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CSO: 2300/293

BCP MESSAGE TO 12TH KKE CONGRESS

AU010919 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 May 87 p 3

["Greetings message of the BCP Central Committee" to the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece, read by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the congress in Athens on 13 May]

[Text] Dear comrades, brothers and sisters in class, struggle and ideas,

With deep happiness and sincere excitement we, the representatives of the Bulgarian Communists, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, the BCP Central Committee, and on the personal behalf of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, most cordially greet the delegates to the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Greece [KKE] and all Greek Communists and working people.

We followed with great interest the introductory speech of Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Central Committee of the KKE, loyal son of the Greek workers' class and the Greek people, and noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, who is deeply respected in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. His introductory speech and the report to the congress profoundly analyzed the international situation and your country's internal political and economic situation. The tasks of the KKE were marked, as well as the ways of their implementation in the struggle for positive transformations in all areas of Greece's social, economic, and cultural development, for peace and international understanding, and for the benefit and happiness of the Greek people.

For many centuries the Bulgarian people have been a party to the struggles for freedom and independence of the heirs of ancient Ellas. They have admired the heroic road of the oldest party in modern Greece--the party of the Greek Communists.

Today, too, we carefully follow its heroic and consistent struggle for democratic transformations, and to defend the freedom, independence, and interests of the workers class and the entire Greek people. We highly value the KKE's contribution to rallying the international communist and workers' movement, and to activating the country's antiwar movement in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

We are convinced that your 12th congress will be of great importance in creatively analyzing and solving the new and great tasks which the contemporary realities pose to the communists and all other Greek patriots. We believe that the congress will contribute to strengthening the party's influence and to the broad unity of action on the part of the communists with the other leftist, democratic, progressive, and peace-loving forces in Greece, in the name of peace, national independence, and comprehensive progress, and for defending the fundamental social and national interests of the working people and the Greek nation.

Comrades, during the past year the Bulgarian Communists had their historic 13th congress, which drew the balance of the road travelled since the BCP Central Committee April 1956 Plenum, which marked the beginning of the party's April general line. During that period the country's national income increased almost 8 times, total industrial production--14 times, the production of the machine building industry--61 times, the chemical industry--55 times, and foreign trade--29 times.

Completely new solutions and visions of our work were needed in socialist Bulgaria, which underwent a fundamental change. Therefore the congress outlined a new strategic course of conducting the April general line--a course of a new qualitative growth and qualitative transformations in all areas. Now the party and the working people are confidently constructing the developed socialist society. They direct their efforts toward better taking into consideration the objective social laws, and toward implementing the scientific-technical revolution, technological renewal, and structure changes in production, and toward developing socialist democracy and its core--socialist self-management. Recently the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria performed an historic act. It adopted a Declaration on Placing Socialist Property Under the Management and Administration of the Labor Collectives.

Along our way we are overcoming many difficulties and contradictions of an objective and subjective character. All our efforts have one general goal--to satisfy better the material, social, and intellectual needs of the people and turn socialism into a stronger and more attractive system.

Comrades, in its international activity our party takes into consideration the new world realities.

One such reality is the scientific-technical revolution, which is leading to a new stage in developing production capacities. Another such reality is the fact that the nuclear weapons that have been accumulated and which threaten the planet with annihilation, change our notions of peace and war, and impose a new political thinking and a new philosophy in international relations. Another such reality is the sinister monster of the contemporary militarization in many capitalist countries, which is unprecedented, and which is the most terrible enemy of the nations today.

The concern with the complication of the international situation as a result of the actions of the United States and NATO, which continue the nuclear and conventional arms race, is universal.

The program of nuclear disarmament by the end of the century, proposed by the USSR, is a bright example of new political thinking and a responsible attitude to world problems in the nuclear-missile era. Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to conclude a separate agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe and begin negotiations on reducing and completely removing missiles with operational-tactical purpose, now acquires a special significance.

The world now expects from the U.S. Administration and its allies political realism and responsive steps aimed at saving mankind from the nuclear nightmare.

Our party and state are conducting and will continue to conduct a consistent policy aimed at removing the nuclear threat, and strengthening peace and understanding and cooperation among nations. The regions of the Balkans and the Mediterranean have a special importance for Bulgaria and Greece. They are regions which were the cradle of ancient cultures and civilizations, which have greatly influenced mankind. They are regions in which also today both vital and freezing winds meet. These winds originate from the entire planet's political, economic, and cultural developments. For us, the struggle to turn these regions into zones of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, is a struggle for the future of the Bulgarian and Greek nations, and a struggle for the future of mankind.

The friendly and goodneighborly Bulgarian-Greek relations are an expression of this policy. "Our goal," Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed in connection with the Declaration on Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece, "is to assert more and more cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece as a model of cooperation between two neighboring states with different social systems."

We would like to assure you from this lofty rostrum: The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people are good and loyal northern neighbors of the Greek people.

Dear comrades, the revolutionary transformation of the world today depends to a large degree on the crucial change in the development of world socialism, which has begun. The course of renewal and profound restructuring in the USSR, implemented by the great party of Lenin, is a phenomenon of worldwide importance as well as a stimulus and inspiration for all of us. In the year of the 70th anniversary of October our parties view the future with confidence and optimism. The BCP highly values friendship and solidarity with the Greek Communists. These are friendship and solidarity rooted in the firm foundation

of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of our fraternal parties, the two countries, the Bulgarian and Greek nations, and the cause of peace and socialism.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee we present to your congress the etching of the merited artist Zlatka Dubova—"Maternity." It is a symbol of the BCP's motherly concern for the peaceful and happy future.

Let friendship and cooperation between our parties, nations, and countries strengthen and develop!

Let the work of the 12th KKE Congress be fruitful!

Long live the KKE!

Let the cause of peace and socialism strengthen!

/8309

CSO: 2200/107

PAPANDREOU GREETINGS TO SOFIA YOUTH MEETING

AU301801 Sofia BTA in English 1233 GMT 30 May 87

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 30 (BTA)--The participants in the international meeting "Youth and the Challenges of the 21st Century," which opened yesterday, discussed a wide range of questions concerning the need for an end to the arms race and for strengthening world peace and security, the role and the place of the young in the realization of the revolution in science and technology, their right to education and work and the promotion of their civil and political rights.

Today the participants in the session received a greetings message from Mr Andreas Papandreu, prime minister of Greece, in which he says that mankind is facing a number of cardinal problems, the most important of which are the vulnerability of world peace, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, and the possibility of a nuclear apocalypse, the questions of famine, illiteracy and diseases.

Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives opened up the first ever opportunity for an agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, the message says.

The Greek head of government emphasises that the activity of the Balkan countries, and especially of the Bulgarian head of state, Mr Todor Zhivkov, for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, contributes to the efforts towards the denuclearization of Europe.

Mr Andreas Papandreu expresses his confidence that the youth will play an ever growing role in the struggle for the strengthening of peace, international cooperation and understanding.

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CSO: 2200/107

STANISHEV GREETES WEST BERLIN COMMUNIST CONGRESS

AU011059 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 May 87 p 4

[Report on the "Greetings message of the BCP Central Committee to the Eighth Congress of the West Berlin Communists," read by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at a "meeting which took place in Shoeneberg district" on 16 May]

[Text] Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee read the BCP Central Committee greetings message to the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin [SEW] at a meeting which took place in Shoeneberg district. The message was listened to with great attention and followed by prolonged applause.

Our delegation listened very attentively to the report of your party's leadership, read by its chairman Horst Schmitt. It contained a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, and of the political and economic situation in your city, marked the tasks of the SEW and outlined the ways of solving them, Comrade Dimitur Stanishev said.

We highly value also the fact that the SEW poses the struggle for peace, security, and disarmament as its main task, and that it makes a significant contribution to activating the antiwar movement and mobilizing all peace-loving, progressive, and democratic forces to implement this goal.

We are convinced that the Eighth SEW Congress will have an important role in increasing the party's influence among the working people and on the city's entire political life.

Your congress is taking place in a complex and tense international situation. International relations are entering a new qualitative stage, and the fundamental issue of protecting peace is today the most crucial problem of the governments, political parties, and movements, and of all mankind.

This year your city celebrates its 750th anniversary. Over the past centuries it has had a stormy and changing history. It has known periods of comprehensive prosperity, as well as the tragic consequences of cruel wars. Many of you remember the horrors of the last war. Therefore, the Bulgarian Communists follow with feelings of fraternal solidarity and sympathy the struggle of your party against thermonuclear war, and against the strivings to turn your city into a source of tension in the international arena, the speaker pointed out.

We know that the Communists of West Berlin are in the front ranks of the struggle of the peace-loving and progressive forces against the efforts of the reactionary forces of imperialism to intensify the arms race and transfer it to space. Mankind, as never before, has the technical possibility of self-destruction, and therefore, more than ever before a new political thinking, action, and behavior in the international arena are needed. A bright example of this is given by the USSR and the socialist countries.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria unreservedly support the peaceful initiatives of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact member states and make their constructive contribution to achieving a positive turning point in international relations, preventing the threat of a new war, and strengthening the unity and unity of action of the peace-loving forces.

As a Balkan state the People's Republic of Bulgaria is striving to cooperate in protecting peace, strengthening confidence and security, and maintaining and developing goodneighborly relations and cooperation with all countries in the region. Our country devotes special attention to the efforts to implement the idea of turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as to conclude a treaty on the ecological protection of the peninsula.

The course of raising the socialist society to a new qualitative level, heralded by the 27th CPSU Congress and warmly supported and developed by our party, is unthinkable without further improving socialist democracy. It is an expression of the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the eve of the 21st century.

Several days ago the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted a declaration, which places socialist property in the hands of the labor collectives for management and administration. We think that this political act of profound political essence is an expression of the level we have achieved of developing production capacities and a precondition for the ascending development of the economy and the accelerated growth of labor productivity. Our goal is to achieve a qualitatively new standard of living, and a greater degree of satisfying the material, social, and intellectual needs of the people, Comrade Dimitur Stanishev pointed out.

I would like to express our conviction, he said in conclusion, that relations between the BCP and the SEW will continue to develop also in future on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of our fraternal parties and the cause of peace and socialism, in the spirit of the behest of the great sons and figures of the international communist and workers' movement, Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann.

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CSO: 2200/107

DZHUROV MEETS KOMSOMOL CONGRESS ARMY DELEGATES

AU020921 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 May 87 pp 1, 3

[Captain Spirdon Spirdonov report: "Shock Detachment for Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] The leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army had a meeting yesterday in one of the halls of the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture with the Army delegates to the 15th Congress of the Dimitrov Komsomol and Komsomol soldiers who had distinguished themselves by feats of heroism and acts of valor.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers; and generals, admirals, and officers took part in the meeting.

Also present was Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states with the Bulgarian People's Army.

In his speech the minister of national defense set out the main tasks facing the Army's Komsomol in the conditions of the accelerated implementation of the strategic policy for qualitatively new growth drawn up at the 13th BCP Congress.

The young people of the Army must become a shock detachment for developing and introducing into practice the achievements of scientific and technical progress and leading experience in the Bulgarian People's Army. Relying on positive experience, the Komsomol committees must conduct a real battle according to all the rules of the art of war to raise the troops' combat readiness to a qualitatively new level. This is now the chief requirement for Komsomol activity.

Later Army General Dobri Dzhurov pointed out that a radical change is needed in the work of the Komsomol organizations and societies in order to decisively activate the youth in educational and combat activities so that they fully realize their potential. This involves increasing the role of the Komsomol commanders in implementing a new approach to socialist emulation and stimulating the Komsomol committees to strive continuously to arouse interest among the troops in acquiring greater knowledge.

Special attention was given in the speech to the issue of the work of the organizations and societies aimed at strengthening discipline in its widest aspect and increasing the cohesion of the collectives.

It was emphasized that the new features of ideological education work in the Army's Komsomol must be associated without fail with the mastering of Marxist-Leninist ideology, especially its contemporary development, and with educating the young soldiers as fervent patriots and internationalists.

The minister of national defense noted that the radical change in the Komsomol's work depends most of all on the combat preparedness of the Komsomol societies and on utilizing open dialogue, publicity [glasnost], criticism, and self-criticism as the main weapons to fight weaknesses and stagnation. It is especially necessary for all the ideas on restructuring to be put into practice on the basis of the primary party organizations have an exceptionally important role.

/8309

CSO: 2200/107

DZHUROV GREETINGS ON 24 MAY

AU061825 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 May 87 pp 1, 3

["Greetings message of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense," on 24 May—Day of Slavonic Letters and Bulgarian Culture: "Letters—Sword and Support," at the 22 May Sofia meeting of the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army with figures of the central army cultural institutes, the military publishing house, and the military editorial boards]

[Text] The cause of Cyril and Methodius is a great and eternal one. Having cast its vital letters as a light upon the Slavonic people, it had strengthened the minds and hands of our forefathers and led them through happiness and sorrow. This cause was their sword and their support.

Thus we survived! Thus our family tree and our blood strengthened!

The song of Cyril and Methodius, sung by our entire reborn people, marching toward their bright future will resound over our renewed motherland on the Day of Slavonic Letters and Bulgarian Culture—one of the brightest and most original people's holidays. We shall proudly shiver with the fact that we are Bulgarians, who have preserved as a most sacred behest the cause of the first teachers Cyril and Methodius. We shall pay again our respect to the heroism of the two brothers, whose traces in time are eternal.

What could be more international, humane, and revolutionary than to proclaim in the darkness of the 9th century the right of every nation to head along the road of its independent intellectual development? This proclamation was especially important during the centuries of oppression, when the spoken word was the only free territory of the human spirit. It was the spoken word that preceded and inspired both the dagger and the handgun.

The creation of the Slavonic letters has a historical and epochal character, because later it heralded the most world-shattering cultural and political ideas, inspired the most revolutionary spirit, and produced the letters which inscribed the words "Lenin," "revolution," "peace," and "space."

In everything related to their goals and the immortal spirit of their holy cause to which they devoted their youth and life, the two brothers really are saints in the purest populist sense of the word.

Today we can proudly say: Bulgaria preserved the cause of Cyril and Methodius. However, in the same vein we can say that the cause of Cyril and Methodius preserved Bulgaria. This is so because the letters created by the two brothers became the corner stone of constructing the national consciousness of the Bulgarian. The letters turned into his weapon and support and made the people stronger than the rock of the Balkan, preserved the Bulgarian name during the tragic years of the two yokes, and combined together the pen and the rifle into the symbols of the united people's struggle. Thus we reached that May Day when a young poet and future revolutionary stepped on the stone in the church yard in Kalofer, raised the flag of Cyril and Methodius, and connected their holiday with the struggle for Bulgarian freedom.

Georgi Dimitrov also invoked the cause of Cyril and Methodius in order to defend the Bulgarian people and the communist ideal, while his followers marched along the difficult partisan path in order to herald later the free 9 September and the beginning of new and socialist Bulgaria's blossoming.

We are justified in our pride with the fact that the most moving words about the nations' equality, and the sun and air as property of all, were said in the Slavic language.

Unfortunately, also today there are people who are playing with fire without thinking about the fate of mankind, warmed by one and the same sun. Therefore each and every one of us must be at his combat post!

We all are called upon to use the pen and the shield, the word and the song, and if necessary--the bullet--in order to fight for the world's future. I mean the future in which the muses will not have to fear the thunder of the guns, and will inspire the creators to better works. This is guaranteed by the "Golden Age," of Bulgaria, the country we view as the promised land of peaceful work and creative cooperation.

There can be no doubt--the nation which 11 centuries ago gave the world Cyril and Methodius, and which succeeded to preserve their cause through fire and ashes and elevate it to a fateful duty--is a great nation. Such a nation is worthy of respect!

On the eve of 24 May, this Bulgarian holiday of ours, we can convincingly say that the Bulgarian People's Army grew up not only as a powerful military force, but also as a first rate cultural force which combines the sound of the battle trumpet and the melody of the lyre. This is your cause, your merit, and your supreme duty!

We are justifiably proud of our military-cultural institutes, the publishing house and the editorial boards, and their presence in the country's modern intellectual life. They selflessly and consistently defend the class-party positions, while their output carries the sign of our time--the fundamental restructuring of everyone and in everything.

The activity of our institutes and editorial boards reincarnates the creative April spirit of the party. This is the source of the successes of the writers and composers, journalists and actors, workers from the fields of cinematography and science, and all those who carry the heavy and noble responsibility of being real fighters of the first combat line of the cultural and ideological front.

Every meeting like the present one evokes festive excitement. It is also an occasion of reviewing the past achievements and future tasks. I am sure that our future successes will multiply.

We are especially grateful to you all for your contribution to our socialist intellectual culture and our loyal service to the party and the people with your brush, pen, song, and word. Your creations excites, mobilizes, fights, and turns into an intellectual satellite of the Bulgarian soldiers.

I can assure you that the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Main Political Administration will continue to invest comprehensive care in creating the necessary conditions for your valuable work and for the consolidation of high artistic and creative results.

Greeting you on behalf of the leadership of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army I would like from the bottom of my heart to express our sincere combat gratitude for the creative work in the service of the Bulgarian People's Army, and the words you tear from your hearts and blood in order to compose and create the most moving story and the most fiery words. From the bottom of my heart I would like to wish you health, vitality, endless creative boldness, and new creative successes, so that the thrill created by the festive echo of the verse we as Bulgarians carry from our birth in our hearts will live forever:

"Forward, reborn people..."

/8309

CSO: 2200/107

BRIEFS

PARTY LEADERS AT KOMSOMOL RECEPTION--The Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union gave a reception yesterday evening in the Boyana residence to mark the close of the 15th Komsomol Congress. The reception was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Stoyan Mikhaylov. [Excerpt] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 May 87 p 1] /8309

COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE--Sofia, June 5 (BTA)--Deputy Premier Grigor Stoichkov, who is also chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Joint Bulgaria-Mozambique Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, received today Mozambique's Minister of Finance, Mr Abdul Magid Osman, chairman of Mozambique's part of the commission. The two politicians discussed the work of the joint projects operating in the fields of mining and agriculture. They noted the existence of possibilities for the broadening of the bilateral cooperation and paid special attention to the setting up of joint enterprises and other ventures. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 5 Jun 87] /8309

MONGOLIAN YOUTH LEADER--Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, yesterday received Tserendorjyin Narangerel [spelling as transliterated], first secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union, who is visiting our country at the head of a delegation, at the invitation of the Komsomol Central Committee. The guest was briefed on the tasks and activities of the BCP, of the working people and youths in our country as regards the implementation of the strategic line set up by the 13th BCP Congress to achieve a qualitatively new growth in all fields of life. Opinions were also exchanged during the meeting on the methods of intensifying fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Dimitrov Komsomol and the Revolutionary Youth Union of Mongolia, between Bulgarian and Mongolian youths. Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the Bulgarian Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, was present at the meeting. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 May 87 p 8] /8309

CSO: 2200/107

POLAND

POLITICAL

JARUZELSKI, FELFE HOLD 'FRIENDLY TALK' IN WARSAW

LDO30125 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 2 Jun 87

[Text] Warsaw, 2 June (ADN)--Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State, received Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for a friendly talk in Warsaw today.

Werner Felfe, who had arrived today at the head of a delegation of the SED Central committee for a visit of several days to the PPR, conveyed fraternal greetings from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR Council of State, which were warmly reciprocated by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The two men briefed one another on the implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. They praised the high level and the dynamic development of overall relations between the two socialist neighboring states and peoples. In agricultural, too, the trustful cooperation between the SED and the PZPR was contributing to the accelerated application of new findings of science and technology in the intensification of production.

/12913

CSO: 2300/310

ORZECZOWSKI'S STOCKHOLM PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

LD040928 Warsaw PAP in English 0605 GMT 4 Jun 87

[Text] Stockholm, 4 June--Asked about economic results of the visit, Orzechowski said: "I think that we have consolidated a proper political climate and that the Swedish Government will encourage Sweden's enterprises to develop cooperation with Poland. The talks with representatives of the Swedish-Polish trade chamber convinced me that Sweden's economic circles are interested in it."

In reply to a question about reactions to the Jaruzelski plan in Sweden Orzechowski answered: "This plan has much in common with various proposals forwarded by Sweden. That is why I noticed considerable interest in the plan on the part of my interlocutors. They viewed it as an important initiative which could contribute to bringing closer a vision of a Europe cooperating in peace."

Asked to assess the measures taken against Polish one-day tourists trafficking in vodka in this country, the Polish foreign minister stated: "We consider this a pathological phenomenon. We have undertaken very radical steps to liquidate this traffic. But I must also say that I do not share enthusiasm about raids on Poles, organized by the Swedish police, because people who have nothing to do with this trade fall victims to them."

Many questions posed at the hour-long conference referred to the coming papal visit to Poland and ensuing expectations concerning progress in national agreement, the state-church relations, activities of the opposition and the authorities' reactions, and many other issues related to the Polish reality.

Orzechowski also met with Riksdag speaker Ingemund Bengtsson to discuss the nearest plans of cooperation between the parliaments of both countries. The two stressed the need to animate this cooperation--both in the bilateral plane and within the Interparliamentary Union. Great expectations are also pinned on resuming Polish-Swedish round-table conferences. After a break the first meeting will be held in Visby on Gotland next September with the participation of Sejm and Riksdag deputies.

Orzechowski also visited the seat of the Swedish Atlas Copco engineering concern cooperating with Poland.

A reception held at the Polish Embassy here tonight was attended by representatives of the Swedish Government, Riksdag deputies, politicians, economic and scientific circles, and other officials.

After a short stay in the south of Sweden Orzechowski will return to Poland tomorrow.

/12913

CSO: 2020/118

RADIO-TV AFFAIRS CHIEF ON 'INFORMATION-DISPENSING'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25-26 Apr 87 pp 1,3

[Interview with Chairman of the Radio-Television Affairs Committee Janusz Roszkowski by Jacek Nachyla: "About Information, Television and television Watchers -- From Top to Bottom and Bottom to Top"]

[Text] What role does information have in shaping public moods, what influence does the speed of information have on these moods influence on these moods, when is information helpful to the government and how harmful are propagandistic broadcasts of half-truths? For answers to these and other questions about the present system of propaganda, we spoke with Janusz Roszkowski, the director of the nation's greatest form of mass communication -- radio and television.

[Question] In one of your interviews with POLITYKA, you spoke about a bidirectional system of televised information. Let us start our interview from that point. How is bidirectional information applied in practice and what is it?

[Answer] It above all consists of the flow of information between the government (in the broad sense of the word) and society. As one element of the propaganda system, radio and television gives people information whose source is government organs such as the Council of State, the Sejm, Council of Ministers and individual departments or ministries. Journalists call this a "top to bottom" process but that is just one direction that the system takes. The other is the reverse process in which information flows from "bottom to top". In other words, radio and television provide signals from various parts of the population, regions, professions and people of different levels of education.

[Question] This "bottom to top" dispensing of information is the work of journalists because they record events around the country and with the help of a wide spectrum of journalistic forms published their gathered material.

[Answer] That is most often the case but we are now more frequently trying to use other forms of communication that limit the need for reporters. It is not at all that we distrust journalists but rather that we wish to provide the most authentic possible image no matter how harsh it may be. We want harsh reality without journalistic cosmetics or adjustments. We want to know just what every worker, engineer, office worker and teacher thinks and feels. It sometimes happens that, regardless of what a journalist's intentions may be, his material may contain unnecessary simplifications or generalizations which will always distort our image of reality.

[Question] That is true but it does not apply to good journalists. However, we will return to that problem. Meanwhile, maybe you would like to consider what we called the "top to bottom" direction and tell us a few things about how the information provided by the government is prepared.

[Answer] This information is conveyed in much the same way as it is from the bottom to the top and therefore involves journalists or going directly to the source of information and having it presented by a representative of the government. From my experiences as chairman of the radio committee and above all from my former job as chief editor of the Polish Press Agency, I know that there have been substantial changes in how information is conveyed.

[Question] Changes for the good?

[Answer] Definitely. For example, we have been for a long time trying to eliminate the so-called protocol which until recently was an obligatory ritual which in practice amounted to listing the names of persons who "took part" or "graced" an event, etc. What journalists called the "telephone book" and therefore a list of important participants has been replaced by more important and valuable information. This has undeniably improved information.

The government (in the broad sense of the term again) today operates in the open. Therefore, information is open to the public and it has become necessary to change the work of journalists. In this case, journalists more often take the role of commentator or observer providing his own reflections to the image received by television audiences. Of course, not all government activities can be publicized but most are now conducted openly.

[Question] Does open government make the work of journalists harder or easier?

[Answer] One cannot look at the problem in terms of easier or harder. I think that the new situation requires that journalists have deeper knowledge, better training and handle news in a more penetrating manner. When journalists function as commentators (which often requires television and radio to track information to its source), this means that they must fully present the given problem and facts in accordance with the intentions of the source and explain and interpret them. To put it more briefly, journalists must work better and more efficiently.

[Question] How would you "grade" the information provided by Polish radio, television and the press?

[Answer] I would say that we are doing a very good job of informing the public.

[Question] You would give the mass media an "A"?

[Answer] Yes, an "A" and only an "A".

[Question] An "A+" or an "A-".

[Question] I will explain that right now. The quality of news is decided by whoever handles it, in other words, the journalist. His training and speed and correctness of judgement are what really decide how and how attractively the news dispenses information. And that is not all. Also quite important is the source of information or he who possesses the facts. The way in which people will receive news is largely determined by whether it is skillfully presented at the right moment and how fully and clearly it is conveyed. Finally, the right decisions by political figures are also important. Every state functions under a specific political system. As we know, propaganda is closely connected with the functioning of the given system and serves that system in, I repeat, every state. And therefore the flow of information (not all because most certainly, some of the most important facts are subject to certain regulations) is subject to certain regulations. I think that in Poland today, the political powers have created the right climate for good information (which has not always been the case!). One can go on to say that very good information is required although we must also admit that there are too little real gems. However, I would still give it an "A".

[Question] Do television journalists also get the "A"?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Some people say that Jozef Wegrzyn told television news readers to read more quickly which might explain the influence that the popular "Tele-Express" has had on the rhythm and attractiveness of the main television news daily.

[Answer] Jozef Wegrzyn, the actual creator of of the lively "Tele-Express" and my plenipotentiary for "Panorama of the Day" on Channel II, belongs to a group of very capable, dynamic and modern-minded journalists in Polish Television. His role in making more attractive the news programs starting with the Warsaw Television Courier is unquestionable. I will leave it up to others to judge whether he told news readers to speak more quickly.

[Question] Let us return for a moment to the "Tele-Express". There is no doubt that this form of program has made a breakthrough out of the upright,

calm and down-played manner in which information has been presented on television up to now. However, on the other hand, the accumulation of information within a span of barely 15 minutes causes some people to wonder about quality and whether young people can assimilate what the editors wish to present.

[Answer] We have still not conducted any thorough studies on how "Tele-Express" is perceived but intend to do so. For now, I can only say that this program has the largest audience and is eagerly watched not only by the young people for whom it is intended but also by an older audience. It is the most popular news program today. We can also see how much the main news program has improved. We are seeing much interest in "Panorama of the Day". The phenomenon about which we are talking is a only fragment of an extensive program for improving our dispensing of information.

[Question] A program that, I would assume, is based on openness of information?

[Answer] We have already talked about the open functioning of government. This style of work automatically compels a still more open information policy.

[Question] You will agree with me that the process of preparing society to receive more important information must be as fast as possible because the passage of time creates a gap into which rumors may slip and that in turn...

[Answer] ...causes confusion and alarm and leads to the wildest speculation. Yes, it is true that a lack of fast information gives rise to rumors. We agree on that however, rumors are created by people who are playing a particular political game with unrest. Quick and reliable information eliminates rumors but it is also true that some parts of society are still susceptible to rumors and likes to speculate. That has not always been something negative.

[Question] Yes, as long as it does not harm the rest of us and in any case, some reaction is necessary.

[Answer] I will therefore repeat, open and quick information is the most valuable and effective means of propaganda. I must also add that this openness causes no alarm in those who are right and can argue their point of view convincingly. The force of an argument is the strength of its propaganda. Honest, reliable, open and wise information of the public is the cardinal principle of radio and television. Maybe we do not always succeed in implementing that in full but that should not be hard to achieve with the enormous intellectual potential of our journalists.

12261

CSO: 2600/608

STAGE II REFORM REQUIRES HEAVY MEDIA PROMOTION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Apr 87 p 4

[Unattributed article: "The Mass Media in the Struggle for Reform -- Meeting of the Steering Committee for the Consultative and Explanation Campaign"]

[Text] The publication of the themes of the second stage of economic reform whose goal is to create the necessary conditions for the utilization of all existing and potential possibilities for stimulating the economy marks the beginning of wide discussion about the directions to be taken by the desired changes and specific solutions.

The committee established by the 3rd Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee to steer the campaign for consultation and explanation of the second stage of economic reform held its latest meeting under the chairmanship of Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

The meeting which was also attended by Vice-premier Manfred Gorywoda and Zdzislaw Sadowksi and representatives of the various political parties and social and political organizations, scientists and journalists was devoted to discussion of methods that can be used to take the proposals for the second stage of economic reform to the public and to specific groups.

"We are in a new phase of our struggle for reform," said Jan Glowczyk "and our enemy is the negative aspects of our own reality in which it is too often the case that public energy is stifled by our administrative and bureaucratic methods. Society does not only demand a quicker pace of change but it also disagrees with the present state of the economy.

"The coming period must offer a breakthrough. The mass media therefore faces the task of providing better, richer and more comprehensive economic information so that the public can more effectively see what is happening in the economy and in specific enterprises. Better and fuller information also supports the processes creating a more democratic social and political life.

"A very urgent task is to learn the public's opinions and recommendations concerning the proposals for the second stage of economic reform and the proposals accepted in discussion should be put to practice as fast as possible".

The meeting also discussed the need to convince the public that there exists a strong political will to accelerate the processes of economic reform. The mass media must try to translate the essence of our intentions and goals into universally understandable language, broadly explain and popularize them and define problems which require consultation.

The discussion of the second stage of reform above all concerns the search for effective methods of solving economic problems. A correct understanding of opinions and views requires that the radio, television and press very carefully listener to the public's observations and recommendations. This means that journalists must maintain continuous and active contact with working people.

Adam Bronikowski, Manfred Gorywoda, Ryszard Kowalski, Wincenty Lewandowski, Aleksandr Lukasiewicz, Marian Ostrowski, Zdzislaw Sadowski, Andrzej Sopocko, Jerzy Urban and Urszula Wojciechowska took part in the discussions.

12261

CSO: 2600/608

PRON YOUTH FORUM ON POLISH, SOVIET RESTRUCTURING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr - 1 May 87 p 5

[Article by [przem]: "Youth in the Face of Changes"]

[Text] The 25th Forum of the Young Generation devoted to youth attitudes toward the changes taking place in Poland and the USSR was held on 29 April at the headquarters of the PRON National Council in Warsaw.

Forum participants indicated disappointment at the too small scope and too slow pace of changes in Poland and the fact that communication between the "top" and "bottom" is often obstructed. Why, it was asked, has so little remained of the themes and ideas proclaimed by high government officials and when will these ideals finally be put into practice? Why is it that in most cases a worker at his post still cannot see any sign of economic reform?

Much was said about the need for a reform in our way of thinking and the need in Poland to introduce radical measures, to consistently monitor the actions of responsible people and to do away with anonymity. An inhabitant of the village of Tyszowka in Zamosc Province in which an NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] investigation revealed numerous irregularities and violations of law stated that the officials responsible for that state of affairs had all been promoted to other posts in the province while he himself, who had signed a letter of complaint to the government, lost his job.

The Soviet guests present at the meeting spoke about the changes which were initiated in the youth community by the recent Komsomol congress. They spoke about the gradual construction of mechanisms leading to profound changes in the economy, culture and information policy. Existing dangers and limitations were perceived along with the fact that not everyone at all is for renewal and transformation regardless of what they may say.

Thy is no alternative to reform. Reform will continue to be carried out but not without a struggle. As Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said, reform will be reached by a road through torments. For our country, it is a very important fact that the changings taking place in the USSR coincide with ours.

Polish-Soviet relations on all levels including direct contacts between citizens will gradually grow stronger. It was stressed that it is hard to talk about integration as long as there does not exist any free personal movement. Therefore, both countries are planning to make it easier to travel between Poland and the USSR although a full opening of borders is still not possible at this time.

The forum was chaired by the secretary general of the PRON National Council, Jerzy Jaskiernia and was also attended by Vice-Marshall of Sejm Mieczysław F. Rakowski, Minister of Youth Affairs Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Director of the Center for Public Opinion Research Stanisław Kwiatkowski, First Secretary of the USSR Embassy Aleksandr Oskin and Mikhail Botyan, correspondent for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

12261

CSO: 2600/604

PRON YOUTH FORUM ON EDUCATIONAL, JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4-5 Apr 87 pp 1,3

[Article by Alicja Matynia-Bonik: "At the Forum of the Young Generation -- A Chance or No Chance?"]

[Text] What is wrong with Polish youth? Do they want to study and cannot due to various obstructions or do they simply want to avoid additional work? This is discussed from time to time in different places and was recently the subject of the PRON National Council's Forum of the Young Generation chaired by Jerzy Jaskiernia.

According to Professor Maria Jarosz, author of the book "Youth's Barriers in Life", interest in higher education is declining.. This is paradoxical in a situation in which higher education continues to be esteemed in our society. Last year's nationwide polls indicated that a university professor still continues to enjoy the highest social prestige. This interest in education is declining in a time in which science, technology and progress will determine our future.

The alarm is therefore justified. We also know that 7 times more youth than available places are applying for schools. In Czechoslovakia, the difference is barely three times. How can we therefore understand the fact that interest in higher education is dwindling? Does this mean that everyone has an equal chance and that only some take advantage of it while others let it pass?

According to the studies conducted by Professor Jarosz, youth of the intelligentsia class have the best opportunities to study while working-class youth have fewer opportunities and peasant youth have the least. Is that a new situation? To a certain degree it is new. Just after the war when the country had an open social structure, it was above all the children of blue-collar workers and peasants who studied and they outnumbered the children of the white-collar class. The processes of social and economic development and changes in the system of values created an environment in which children were pursuing higher educations.

In the present generation, only every 8th secondary school graduate goes on to a higher education. In 1984, every 2nd to 3rd student in the first year of studies had a white-collar background while every 11th student came from a blue-collar family and every 23rd was from a peasant family. Ten years prior to that, every 2nd to 3rd child of a white-collar family went on to higher education, every 6th to 7th child of a blue-collar background and every 9th child of a peasant family. The process that started at the end of the 1960's has recently begun to accelerate. There is an obvious tendency for professions and social position to become inherited. The children of white-collar parents themselves become white-collar workers. They have the greatest opportunity for continuing their education. Peasant children remain on the farms and the children of blue-collar workers themselves become workers. For the latter, their most frequent form of social advancement is that the child of a laborer may become a skilled worker. of course, there are individuals within every group who break out of their social background and overcome the barriers.

Some feel that there is nothing wrong with the son of a lawyer becoming a lawyer or a doctor's son becoming a doctor. However, from a social point of view, this leads to a closed social structure in which a child born to a working-class or peasant family will most often never hold any other social position.

Not everyone must study. Regardless of the sort of family to which a child is born or where he is born, it is a matter of personal choice. However, there are no such opportunities and this has been seen in many other countries as well. In Hungary, for example, where an effort has been made to cultivate the talents that are not found in intellectual families alone by setting up special schools for working-class children but these same schools were very quickly taken over by the children of white-collar families. That is the situation.

According to Professor Jan Bogusz, director of the Institute for Problems Research, something has changed for youth. After all, all of these thousands of boys and girls want to study. Polls have shown that more than 75 percent of young people said that they want to study and 40 percent of them wanted to receive a higher education. This proves that these young people have the motivation to study.

There remains the problem of who has the best opportunities to fulfill their ambitious tasks. The state's policy is aimed at giving everyone an equal chance but it is another matter altogether to efficiently implement that policy. The other important issue is the difference in conditions for taking advantage of opportunities. Giving prospective students some priority for their social background was one solution aimed at making it easier to gain admission to a higher school for youth that through no fault of their own had graduated from poor rural schools and had grown up in families with fewer opportunities for arousing intellectual aspirations. The social differences do and will continue to exist but the real problem is the scale of this

phenomenon. Even Warsaw has general education secondary schools, all or nearly all of whose graduates go on to higher education as well as those in which very few youth ever become students.

According to Minister of Science and Higher Education Stanislaw Nowacki, preferences for social background were most harshly criticized by working-class and peasant youth who renounced them. But what has happened? It will still take a long time to give everyone who wants to study an equal chance. Some try to stifle discussion of this problem by saying that the social structure among students mirrors that of the public at large. That is untrue. About 60 percent of society is in the working class while not quite 40 percent of students come from that social background.

At the forum, one of the leaders of a village in Warsaw Province talked about the influence that community aspirations have on one's course in life and used his own community as an example where in the 6th grade of its primary school, pupils were asked where they would like to do in the future. Most answered that they would like to be a store clerk. Many young people also wanted to become singers or sportsmen while very few expressed any interest in higher education. These interests are formed very early in primary school or middle school and not when young people become students.

This is also connected with the problem of giving everyone an equal opportunity. There are working-class and peasant families in which everything possible is done to give child an opportunity to study and better themselves. In these families, more young people have been seen who want to quickly learn a vocation and become independent. In such groups, school is very important and the teachers should give their pupils the things they lack at home.

During the forum discussions, many young people blamed dwindling interest in higher education on the weak relationship between higher education and careers. Young people do not see a higher education as a means to advancement in life, wealth or prestige. It was pointed out, for example, that a doctor earns only half of what a cleaning woman makes and that a graduate of a polytechnical institute works as a foreman and earns twice as much as colleagues who are the directors of schools and have greater professional responsibilities. After all, the higher education that is sometimes a sacrifice for a young person and his family, is not at all required to become a foreman.

One can take an instrumental attitude toward study as a means to a career and social advancement or one can regard study as a means of self-improvement and discovery. Professor Zbigniew Sufin of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Sociology asked whether the latter attitude has dwindled. Compared to such phenomenon in Poland as private computers and the desire of young people to become acquainted with this new science in spite of all objective difficulties, one must judge that aspirations for higher education have diminished. At the same time, the conditions in which these aspirations may develop leave much to be desired.

Most young people associate the decision to receive a higher education with the hope for a better future and a career. As Minister Aleksander Kwasniewski said, the fact today is that every responsible young person thinks about his or her social position and material welfare. Under difficult conditions under which one must wait a long time for housing and one's first salary is low, there is a real collision between one's expectations and the process of satisfying them. The intention of economic reform is to create the economic conditions in Poland that make it possible for most youth to fulfill their aspirations.

Often, one hears calls to advance our young people but when it comes down to doing something concrete, the same people say that the youth are still too young or that there is still enough time to do something later. At the same time, the road to advancement is growing longer. All over the world, people know that the 35-50 year age group is the most creative while in Poland, the leadership cadre is all over 50 years old.

The resolutions and of PZPR Central Committee and government programs all call for giving young persons more responsible positions, a chance to carry out responsible tasks and to give them the necessary knowledge to do so. The scientific and technical revolution has produced an enormous rate of change. "In connection with this, we are looking for teaching methods," said Professor Nowacki, "that will provide the necessary qualifications and skills for situations that may be unforeseeable at this time. Therefore, the decision has been made to provide youth with bi- or multivocational educations and given them a larger portion of general and fundamental knowledge. Such an education can be adjusted in accordance with social needs and there will be less personal disappointment and social losses".

This was the most optimistic accent in the discussions at the latest Forum of the Young Generation. Life will show us just how optimistic it really is.

12261

CSO: 2600/604

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO CHINA--Warsaw, 4 June--Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today, Poland's Ambassador to China Zbigniew Dembowski. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1654 GMT 4 Jun 87 LD] /12913

FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS SWEDEN--Stockholm, 2 June: Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski started today a three-day visit to Sweden which crowns the process of normalization of relations between both countries. It is the first Polish official visit on this level to Sweden during the 1980s. Shortly after arrival Minister Orzechowski laid a wreath at the grave of Olof Palme, Sweden's premier murdered 15 months ago. The Polish-Swedish political talks are to start in the afternoon. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1348 GMT 2 Jun 87 LD] /12913

MESSNER VISITS CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL--Warsaw, 1 June--In connection with International Children's Day, Premier Zbigniew Messner visited the children's health centre in Warsaw's Miedzylesie suburb, which is celebrating its 10th anniversary this year. Premier Messner participated in a session of the hospital's social construction committee and visited newly opened wards in the hospital's rehabilitation centre. Messner also met with the centre's young patients showing interest in their state of health, conditions of treatment and their stay in the hospital. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1030 GMT 1 Jun 87 LD] /12913

MESSNER, ENVIRONMENTALISTS MEET--Warsaw, 4 June--Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner met today, on the eve of the International Environment Protection Day, with scientists and practitioners protecting the Polish natural environment. Almost 2 percent of Poland's national income is spent on environment protection. Last year, over 200 sewage-treatment plants were built, which to a considerable degree, limited the degradation of water in rivers and lakes. Newly installed equipment for air protection enabled to further limit industrial dust emission by over 1 million tonnes. Zbigniew Messner stressed the importance of international cooperation in environment protection, including cooperation with closest neighbours. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 4 Jun 87 LD] /12913

VOIVODAS REGIONAL MEETING HELD--A regional [strefowa] meeting of Voivodas from 18 northern and western voivodships is being held in Zielona Gora. The voivodas are being briefed on the country's economic situation and the results

achieved during the first months of this year. The discussion, which is continuing at present; focuses on the implementation of the social and economic tasks included in the current year plans. The voivodas has pointed out the possibilities for accelerating development as well as the difficulties they face. The meeting is chaired by Premier Zbigniew Messner. [Text]
[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 3 Jun 87 LD] /12913

CSO: 2600/642

ROMANIANS, HUNGARIANS SAID TO 'GET ALONG WELL' IN COMMUNE

[Editorial Report] Bucharest STEAUA in Romanian No 4, 1987 has an article on p 7 by Viorel Cacoveanu, who traveled in February of this year to Tritenii de Jos, a Transylvanian commune composed of six villages. Cacoveanu opens his article with the statement that "deep and unspoken emotions overwhelm" him every time he heads for a Romanian village "where the very being of our nation has its solid roots." He goes on to give the gist of conversations he had with a few of the commune's residents.

Cacoveanu found out from teacher Traian Rogoz that the commune has "1,300 students and 75 teachers" and that "every village has a school." Commenting on the commune's population makeup, Rogoz noted that "roughly 25 percent of the inhabitants are of Hungarian extraction, but we get along well, we live in harmony. We have the same ideals, the same thoughts, we feel and live the same way. We haven't had problems here for a long time." According to Rogoz, "a few tens of Hungarian families from parts of Czechoslovakia" arrived in 1906, after the Austro-Hungarian empire built a "colony, a village" in the area. "Many stayed for good," added Rogoz, "but others went back to their native places."

Mayor Ioan Deac greeted Cacoveanu "with a smile and served Tuica," and then went to enumerate the commune's agricultural and other statistics. "Over 6,000 people" live in the six villages which make up the commune. Grapes, corn, potatoes and tobacco are some of the crops. The commune "exports handmade embroidery to the West." During the past 20 years "over 600 houses have been built." There are "seven doctors and one dispensary at the disposal of the people and their lives." There are "over 120 private cars, every other person owns a TV and we have stores offering service to the population." "Roughly 800" people commute to Cimpia Turzii (10 km) and Turda (20 km) to work. Cacoveanu himself witnessed, as he puts it, "the huge clouds of dust raised by buses noisily going down the streets of the commune, bringing commuters home." Mayor Deac added that "the past few years have seen an increase in the political and professional conscience of the villagers, in their sense of responsibility as regards the country's accomplishments, and in their passion for what is new."

Cacoveanu's concludes his article with the comment that "in Tritenii, on the eve of Spring, people are living a new age of lasting hopes that have come to them from afar, from history."

COUNTRY'S DELEGATE AT LUANDA UN SESSION ON NAMIBIA

AU231658 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0629 GMT 23 May 87

["Romania Backs the Namibian People's Fight"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Luanda, 23 May (AGERPRES)--The steadily deteriorating situation in Namibia and Austral Africa calls for resolute steps from the UN, from the entire international community conducive to the fulfillment of the solemn obligation the world organization assumed as early as 1966 to remove the occupation regime of South Africa and grant full support to the Namibian people in its fight for self-determination and independence, Romania's representative stressed during the debates of the extraordinary session of the UN Council for Namibia taking place in Luanda.

Expressing his country's deep concern over the serious tension created in Southern Africa following the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African regime, over its attempts to hamper the assertion of the Namibian people's right to free and independent existence, the Romanian delegate reiterated Romania's active support to the militant solidarity with the Namibian people's liberation fight, under SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] leadership, to win national independence.

The Romanian delegation also demanded that South Africa put an end to apartheid policy and to all aggressive, subversive and destabilizing actions against neighbor independent African states.

/9738

CSO: 2020/114

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ZAMBIAN POWER, COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER

AU221750 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 22 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu received on 22 May G.K. Chinkuli, minister of power, transport and communications of the Republic of Zambia, chairman for his country of the joint Romanian-Zambian Government Commission on Economic and Technological Cooperation holding proceedings in Bucharest these days.

The guest handed over to President Nicolae Ceausescu a message from Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, and conveyed to the Romanian leader and to Mme Elena Ceausescu from the Zambian head of state and his wife Betty Kaunda, warm, friendly greetings, and to the Romanian people wishes of welfare and happiness.

Thanking, Nicolae Ceausescu requested that a warm friendly salute be conveyed to the president of the Republic of Zambia in his and Mme Elena Ceausescu's behalf.

During the interview they highlighted the good relations between Romania and Zambia, highlighting the outstanding importance of the summit talks for the development and amplification of the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries, both on a bilateral plane and in the international arena. The importance was also highlighted of promoting modern forms of collaboration allowing for the better capitalization of the economic potential of Romania and Zambia.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the contribution the joint Romanian-Zambian Commission could make to augmenting the economic exchanges, to the development of the cooperation in production, to the deepening of the friendly relations between the two countries and peoples.

The interview was attended by Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture, chairman for Romania of the joint Romanian-Zambian commission.

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CSO: 2020/114

ZAMBIAN POWER MINISTER, DAVID SIGN PROTOCOL

AU231702 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1244 GMT 23 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--The current stage of the economic relations between Romania and Zambia, the possibilities and ways of further developing cooperation in various domains of mutual interest--such as machine building industry, mining, transports, agriculture--of expanding collaboration in production and scientific research, of broadening and diversifying mutual goods exchanges were analyzed during the tenth session of the joint Romanian-Zambian Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation taking place in Bucharest.

The co-chairmen of the commission--Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture, and G.K. Chinkuli, minister of power, transport and communications of the Republic of Zambia--signed the protocol of the session.

The Zambian minister had interviews with the managerial staff of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Machine Building Industry, the Ministry of Heavy Equipment Industry, the Mining, Oil and Geology Ministry, the Ministry of Finance and the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade.

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CSO: 2020/114

DOBRESCU MEETS ZAIRE'S MOBUTU IN KINSHASA

AU220844 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0825 GMT 22 May 87

[Text] Kinshasa (AGERPRES), 22 May--On behalf of RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mme Elena Ceausescu the founder chairman of the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution, president of the Republic of Zaire, Mobutu Sese Seko, and Mme Bobi Ladawa were conveyed a warm friendly salute and the best wishes of health, and the friendly Zairean people success in economic and social development, prosperity and peace.

President Mobutu Sese Seko keenly thanked and said that he had fresh memories of the meetings and talks held during the recent visit Romania's president paid to the Republic of Zaire and requested that Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu be conveyed a cordial friendly salute, expression of feelings of esteem, wishes of health and personal happiness on his own behalf and on behalf of Mme Bobi Ladawa, and the friendly Romanian people wishes of ever greater successes on the path of welfare and prosperity.

The exchange of messages was occasioned by the call on the Zairean head of state by Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GUTUR [General Union of Trade Unions of Romania] Central Council, President Nicolae Ceausescu's representative to the festivities arranged on the 20th foundation anniversary of the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution of Zaire.

Aspects of the development of the economic and political ties between Romania and Zaire were approached during the interview.

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CSO: 2020/114

NICU CEAUSESCU MEETS YOUTH DELEGATIONS

Syrian Students

AU241622 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1518 GMT 24 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 24 May (AGERPRES)--Sunday, 25 May [as received], a delegation of the National Union of Syrian Students led by Haitham Dweihy [spelling as received], chairman of the union, now on a visit to Romania upon the invitation of the UCSAR [Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania] Council, were received by Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth].

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial salutes between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Hafiz al-Asad.

During the talk information was exchanged on the activity and current preoccupations of the UCY, UCSAR and the Syrian Students' Union, with emphasis on the importance of further boosting ties of friendship and collaboration between the youth and students of Romania and Syria, between their organizations, in the spirit of the fine relations between the two countries and peoples, and of summit understandings.

Stress was also laid on the need to enhance the young generation's contribution to the fight of peoples, of progressive forces to prevent the deterioration of the international situation and resume the course of detente, build a climate of peace and collaboration, a better and more just world.

Congolese Socialist Youth

AU281759 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1734 GMT 28 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 28 May (AGERPRES)--Upon an invitation from the Union of Communist Youth, a delegation led by Gabriel Oba Apounou [spelling as received], secretary of the CC of the Congolese Labor Party, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Congolese Socialist Youth (UJSC), paid a visit to Romania on 28 and 29 May to exchange experiences.

The UJSC delegation had talks with Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee, first secretary of the CC of the UCY.

During the interviews stress was laid on the friendly and cooperative relations continuously developing between the UCY and the UJSC, between the Romanian and the Congolese youth, in the spirit of the traditional links between the two parties, countries and peoples, on the basis of the understandings covenanted between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and president of Romania, and Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Congolese Labor Party, president of the People's Republic of the Congo.

Opinions were exchanged on the occasion on aspects of the international youth and student movement, the two organizations' wish being expressed to further work for enhancing the contribution of the young generation everywhere to the peoples' general fight for peace, disarmament, freedom and independence, democracy and progress, for a better and more just world.

The delegation was received by Constantin Radu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Cordial messages of salute were exchanged on the occasion between Nicolae Ceausescu and Denis Sassou-Nguesso.

Emphasis was placed during the interview on the decisive role of the talks held and accords agreed upon at top level in boosting ties of many-sided cooperation between the two countries, on a youth line included.

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CSO: 2020/114

AFGHAN LEADERS THANK CEAUSESCU FOR MESSAGE

AU241721 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 May 87 p 3

[Message of thanks sent to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu by Najibollah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, by Haji Mohammad Tsamkani, acting chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan, and by Soltan Ali Keshtmand, president of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], the Council of Ministers, and the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as on our own behalf, we extend to you warm thanks for the kind message you conveyed to us on the ninth anniversary of the April Revolution.

We are fully convinced that the fraternal relations between our parties, governments, and people, which are expanding day by day, will continue to develop in the future, too, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of strengthening peace and security throughout the world.

Najibollah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA

Haji Mohammad Tsamkani, acting president of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

Soltan Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

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CSO: 2020/114

VENEZUELAN PARLIAMENTARIANS' STATEMENTS ON VISIT

AU231644 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1125 GMT 23 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--In a statement to an AGERPRES reporter, the members of the Venezuelan parliamentary delegation led by Omar Higuera, chairman of the Science and Technology Commission of the House of Deputies, expressed their satisfaction at the results of their visit to Romania, of their contacts with Romanian officials assessing them as a contribution to the development of the Romanian-Venezuelan cooperative ties.

Stress was laid on the importance of the economic and commercial exchanges between the two countries in their efforts towards economic and social development.

The Venezuelan guests were impressed by the efforts Romania makes to overcome the stage of a developing country considering that they can serve as an example for other countries.

Referring to the broad possibilities provided by the economies of Romania and Venezuela to expand mutually advantageous economic relations, the members of the delegation highlighted the role incumbent in this respect on the two countries' parliaments.

The Venezuelan parliamentarians were highly appreciative of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches and initiatives as regards the establishment of a new international economic order, noting that they were beneficial to all peoples. Romania's and Venezuela's stands on this issue have many common points, they stated.

In another string of ideas the guests underscored the role scientists should play in using the achievements of the human genius for peaceful purposes, being of the opinion that in this domain too there are real and multiple possibilities of expanding the cooperation between Romanian and Venezuelan men of science.

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CSO: 2020/114

EDITORIAL ANALYZES CONCEPT OF PATRIOTISM

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 14 May 87 p 3

[Editorial by Victor Ernest Maske: "The Cultural Genesis of Patriotism"]

[Text] There is nothing so natural as to love your country and the people with whom you are one; nothing so normal as to feel attached to the spiritual virtues of your contemporaries and ancestors, to cultivate and celebrate them--in other words, to be a patriot. Patriotism should be, then, an automatic sentiment and attitude, equally dispersed among the entire population of a nation, spontaneously evolving and developing; something you could expect to encounter in every normal person, like any inherited characteristic. There should be no difficulty in forming a patriotic consciousness, with just a little education. Yet patriotism, the definitive component of social consciousness, is not simply an inevitable product of natural evolution, an immutable hereditary trait. Love for and identification with the unique values of the social and cultural existence of a nation is not inborn, not an instinctive behavior; it does not reflect a reflex attachment to the surroundings into which we are born, like some animal's attachment to the biotope in which it developed.

As a social phenomenon, patriotism only appears and manifests itself under certain conditions, as it is a sentiment with a predominantly cultural genesis, with a cultural impetus which, if it is not the sole drive, it is the decisive one. To love the distinctive virtues of your nation, to respect and cherish its traditional values, to adopt its aspirations, you must know them. And because no one can be in contact with all the characteristic existential states of this national identity, especially with those from the past that are preserved through tradition, one can only know their mitigating and conserving forces in and through culture; in other words through history, philosophy and in particular through the art of a nation. Especially art we say--be it popular or cultured--because it is the concentrated expression, in its highest form, of the psychology, the sensitivity, the morality and the creative inventiveness of a nation. Only can art help us to live emotionally, with intensity, just as though the events, sentiments, attitudes and aspects representative of Romanian typology and behavior--which we may have never yet encountered--are right here with us and have with them their own existential experiences. And, especially, to know the great personalities who are symbols and models of our people, drawing ourselves near to them in the pages of literature, in theatre, or in the depths of a canvas just as though they were here next to us--our contemporaries--helping us draw near to them, regardless if the years that actually separate us from them are in decades or even centuries.

To be a patriot, that is to be proud of the heroic history of our fatherland, of the values and personalities which have given, and continue to give a distinct profile of our people means to know and to be able to commune with the entire heritage of thought and sentiment of Romanian spirituality. The simple fact of being born in a certain geographical and ecological context, in the midst of a linguistic universality is not sufficient for you to be so bound to these surroundings, for them to be indispensable and unmistakable. After all, there are lofty mountains, splendid forests and limpid, aromatic waters in other places of this world. Love for that which is uniquely Romanian, this you find in the souls of Eminescu and Sadoveanu, through the piercing and inspired eyes of Andreescu and Griгореscu, through the sensitive ear of the popular rhapsody, singing its sorrow in "codrutului frate" or in the uniquely Romanian melodies of Eminescu's rhapsodies. How the awareness of the inexhaustible expressivity of the Romanian language, the pride in it and the opportunity you have to put it in your service, you learn just from the obligatory stroll across the linguistic terrain enriched by the anonymous authors of "Mioretei," by Eminescu, Arghezi, Nichita, Stanescu or Constantin Noica. No one can live or feel today authentically Romanian without the guidelines of sensitivity and beauty, of nobility and heroism defined by the creative buoyancy of this people, brought to life in their acts of bravery, in the ambiance of a special character and a beauty all of its own in traditional Romanian architecture, and in the dignified works of art of both our contemporaries and our forefathers. Thus, patriotic education is an implicit and complex process that cannot be reduced to declarations of principle and urgings to be a patriot. It cannot have an imperative character; instead it must be explicative and implicative. Which is to say that patriotic education is not an ostentatious process; it is one that is long-term and constant, one of drawing near to and organically assimilating Romanian culture and art. It is a process in which the child and then the impressionable youth is put into the situation of living in a sensitive fashion, identifying himself with the works of art and culture--eventually to a point where he feels they are his--that are representative of this people with their peaceful, constructive nature. This should be such a part of him that should he not have all of it, he would feel lost, alienated, uprooted and unfulfilled as a man, regardless of whatever material compensation he might find elsewhere.

Yet just as patriotism cannot be implanted from without, neither is it an attitude that one can impose from without. It is not some deliberate behavior adopted temporarily and when it is suitable. Indeed, it is subconscious and uncontrolled; it possesses you and motivates you completely. You do not propose that you become a patriot just as you do not fall in love with someone simply because you recognize the need and justification for doing so. This means, in other words, that you do not seek to become acquainted with Romanian art and culture from some sense of duty, to test your patriotism. Rather you are a patriot and you love this culture, the spiritual metabolism of this people, because you are under its influence; you have assimilated it involuntarily along with the entire existential atmosphere in which your personality formed. Said even more directly, we do not read Blaga and Rebreanu, we do not listen to Enescu or Dinu Lipatti because we are patriots, but because our patriotic sentiments are nurtured and moved by the emotion, pleasure and gratitude which we feel when in contact with these works, and the pride we have that we are part of the same spiritual environment from whence they came.

This is why patriotism cannot be a simple reflex to "the call of the blood", some behavioral reaction passed on in our genes like the perpetuation of inherited characteristics. Explaining it thusly is to give it a biologically vulgar interpretation. You can have German, Hungarian or Serbian "blood," but being born into and especially living your formative years in the spiritual climate of Romanian history and culture, of the way of life unique to this people, you can feel--in a totally real way--attached to the values it sets for you; you can be a natural proponent and representative of them, hence a Romanian patriot in the fullest sense of the word. In this context, of course, this has nothing to do with the purely formal acceptance of citizenship; you become a Romanian (or a Frenchman, or Englishman or Italian for that matter) through a union of spirit. Because, with the exception of certain characteristics of temperament, the full spectrum of characteristics that define the psychological and behavioral uniqueness of an ethnic group is mostly the expression of the socio-cultural climate in which that group developed.

As all of the great scholars of the past--from Cantemir to Maiorescu and Eminescu--have not hesitated to point out to us, love of country is not instinctive nor is it blind passion. It is, instead, a lucid and responsible attachment, conscious of the successes and limitations of our fatherland--a love which can, without any sense of contradiction, include pride for the virtues of our heritage, for the victories past and present as well as sorrow for the failures or hesitations inherent in any process of historical development, accompanied by faith and hope in the verdict of the future--one that deserves to be favorable. This adoption of a "state of vigilance" for the present nation, through its past and for its destiny is possible only through the cultural genesis of patriotic sentiments--because the culture of any nation is at the same time, its critical conscience. It is the unbiased but not detached arbiter for evaluating its virtues, its methods and its chances to proclaim itself and to persevere.

Social consciousness--conditioned and shaped by history--the proliferation and generalization of patriotism in the entire mass of a population thus depends on the proliferation and generalization of the influence of the national culture across this population. And not only culture in general, but the cognitive efforts of science play a part in this culture especially in that sphere which we call "humanistic culture." The assimilation of the breadth of technical consciousness and performance--regardless of how creative it is--is certainly useful and necessary in the socio-economic order, but it is insufficient here. Because physics, mathematics, chemistry, genetics, computer science and cybernetics are all neutral from an ethnic point of view. They are the same from any vantage point and they do not directly influence national consciousness. But our language, history, philosophy, poetry or music is uniquely Romanian, direct generators of national consciousness and patriotic pride. The range of scientific knowledge ensures an indispensable culture of specialization, that of the humanities and especially art is a culture and a lesson in being Romanian. Thus any investment in the art and culture of a people means an investment in patriotism. It means to care for the roots from which the sap rises to the branches where we expect the fruits of love and appreciation for the generous land that is Romania.

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO SFRY'S HASANI--To Comrade Sinan Hasani, president of the SFRY presidency, Belgrade: Esteemed Comrade Sinan Hasani: On your birthday, I take particular pleasure to extend warmest congratulations and wishes for health and new successes in the highly responsible activity you are carrying out. I want to express the conviction that through common efforts the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the SFRY will strengthen and develop more and more in the interest and to the benefit of our peoples and of the cause of socialism, detente, understanding and peace in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 May 87 p 5 AU] /9738

TALKS WITH ZAIREAN CHAIRMAN--Kinshasa, 26 May (AGERPRES)--Now on a visit to Zaire where he attended the festivities occasioned by the 20th foundation anniversary of the Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution (MPR) of Zaire, Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation [GTUC] of Romania, held talks with a delegation of the National Workers' Union of Zaire (UNTZA) headed by Kombo Tonga Boke [spelling as received], general secretary of UNTZA. Emphasis was placed on the good relations between the two trade union organizations, on the necessity to further develop them, as well as to enhance their contribution to strengthening the Romanian-Zairian cooperation and collaboration on multiple planes. A program of collaboration between GTUC and UNTZA was signed. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1538 GMT 26 May 87 AU] /9738

SYRIAN STUDENT DELEGATION--Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--Saturday, 23 May, Radu Constantin, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received the delegation of the National Union of Syrian Students [NUSS] headed by Haitham Dweihy [spelling as received], NUSS chairman, now on a visit to Romania. Emphasis was placed on the ascending course of the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party, between Romania and Syria, which develop continuously, in keeping with the understandings covenanted during the top-level meetings, as well as on the good relations of friendship and collaboration established between the young people of the two countries, between their organizations. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1221 GMT 23 May 87 AU] /9738

VENEZUELAN DELEGATION TALKS, VISIT--Bucharest, 22 May (AGERPRES)--Continuing their Romanian visit, the delegation of the National Congress of the Republic of Venezuela, headed by Omar Higuera, chairman of the Science and Technology Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, had interviews at the executives of the Ministry of Mining, Oil and Geology and the Arad County People's Council. The guests also visited industrial, farm, higher learning units and socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest Municipality and Arad County. Venezuelan Ambassador in Bucharest Demetrio Boesner gave a reception on 22 May to mark the Romanian visit by the Venezuelan parliamentarians. The guests included Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, representatives of some ministries and central institutions, deputies. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 22 May 87 AU] /9738

ETHIOPIAN MINISTER, DELEGATION VISIT--Bucharest, 23 May (AGERPRES)--A delegation of Ethiopian lawyers, headed by Wondayen Mihretu [spelling as received], minister of law and justice of Socialist Ethiopia, visited Romania over 16-23 May. The guest had talks at the Ministry of Justice, the procurator's office, the Supreme Court and several county courts. The fine Romanian-Ethiopian ties, as well as the possibilities of further expanding them were highlighted during the interview Deputy Prime Minister Neculai Ibanescu had with Wondayer Mihretu, minister of law and justice of Socialist Ethiopia. Gheorghe Chivulescu, Romanian minister of justice also attended. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1135 GMT 23 May 87 AU] /9738

GDR EMBASSY MARKS TREATY--On the 15th anniversary of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the SR of Romania and the GDR, GDR Ambassador to Bucharest Dr Herbert Plaschke, gave a cocktail party on 12 May. The party was attended by ministers, party and state activists, representatives of ministries, central institutions, and mass and civic organizations, and by men of science and culture, generals, officers, and journalists. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 May 87 p 5 AU] /9738

USSR EMBASSY RECEPTION--Bucharest, 8 May (AGERPRES)--On 8 May, on the occasion of Victory Day, a friendly get-together was held at the Bucharest Embassy of the Soviet Union. Members in the leadership of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Defense, representatives of central institutions, party and state activists, generals, high-ranking officers, men of culture and art and journalists participated. Heads of diplomatic mission accredited in Romania, military attaches and other members of the diplomatic corps attended. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1626 GMT 8 May 87 AU] /9738

CSO: 2020/114

ITALIAN BUSINESSMAN DWELLS ON TRADE MATTERS

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 20 May 87 p 4

[Article by Dragomir Alexandrov]

[Text]

Rondine is an Italian company, based in Milan, shipping goods by land, air and sea. It has been doing business with Bulgaria for over 30 years now, its contacts being mainly with the Despred and SOMAT freight operators. Rondine took part in the International Plovdiv Fair as official representatives of the Italian Foreign Trade Institute.

Mr. Giulio Matussi, the company's director, was a very nice man to talk to.

What is the reason for the long-time cooperation between Rondine and this country?

It is due first and foremost to the deep-rooted contacts between our two nations, to their common features, and to their will to develop cooperation in trade. This also helps them know each other better. The Italians who have worked in Bulgaria are strongly impressed with the friendly attitude towards them and with the nice things sold at your shops.

How would you rate the quality of Bulgarian goods? What are your company's main imports from Bulgaria?

The quality of your goods has been steadily improving. This can be seen in the shop windows, too. We have been purchasing Bulgarian-made electric trucks, which are definitely up to world standards,

as well as lathes, other machines, medicinal herbs, etc. Broad opportunities exist, in my opinion, for expanding trade not only between the Rondine company and Bulgaria, but also between our two countries in general.

What do you have in mind?

I think we can build jointly small and medium enterprises and turn out, in this way, more consumer goods. We should also exchange experience at the level of specialists. Why should we not set the example of a new economic cooperation? For economic relations undoubtedly lead to understanding, to the building of a better and happier world in the name of peace and peaceful coexistence.

STRIKE IN MACHINEBUILDING PLANT REPORTED

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 20 May 87 pp 1, 6

[Text]

The little man lays big claims * Self-management: bottom view, top view and... distant view * Changing social practice * Outage is OK, stoppage is not? * New way of looking at work * The workforce: social pressure welder, not just economic unit * The only way out: stick to self-management principles

Several days ago, a number of western newspapers, including *l'Humanité*, *Libération*, the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Asahi* and many news agencies like Kyodo Tsusin, TANJUG, and DPA, quoted the *Rabotnichesko Delo* of May 5 as carrying an unprecedented story about a strike in Bulgaria.

I have no personal acquaintance with any of the twelve turners, burnishers, milling-machine operators and fitters, members of Georgi Yashov's work team at the Iskur Machinebuilding Plant in the town of Mezdra. There may well be some quite big men among them, self-confident and ambitious. Still, the industrial dispute that broke out in Mezdra is symptomatic of an obvious tendency for the "ordinary man", the worker, the man on the shop floor, to grow up. "The little man", the operator, had suddenly laid his big claims!

The dispute

Early last March, the 12-member team in the hydraulics shop staged a weeklong work stoppage. They stood by their switched-off machines and did not turn out anything. Not that they had run short of feedstock, or that they were lazy: in fact, their team had been a front-ranker in the company. The reason was quite different: at the end of

February, the workers had been paid at lower rates for the machine parts which they were producing. They immediately called a meeting and invited the administration to send a representative. Nobody came. On top of it all, a badly needed machine was taken away from them. That was the last straw. They shut down all machines... For a whole week, sundry bosses would pass by the idle men, and not one stopped to ask them, "What's wrong?"

An ostrich policy at its best...

The administration's side of the story

Production manager Tihomir Lakovski: "I don't see a reason to give the workers notice of each specific change of pay. They should have been aware that an improved technology reduces the cost of the unit. True, we did take away the machine without their consent, but that was through force of circumstances."

Plant director Todor Belomorski: "These are all caprices of people who don't feel like working". (This, about a work team who, in 1986, had fulfilled its annual plan a month and a half ahead of schedule).

These were the building blocks of a dispute which acquired an added dimension against the background of the all-pervasive reorganization under way in this country's economy. How does the dispute look from a distance? The *Rabotnichesko Delo's* reporter presented it above all as an instance of an unethical treatment of workers - something inadmissible in the conditions of self-managing economic structures. The Western press was unanimous: it had been a strike.

The journalist's comment:

"Our basic problem is how to change the way of thinking," says Dimitar Deliiski, Deputy Editor of the *Rabotnichesko Delo*. "What we have here is actually a clash between the inveterate methods of workforce management and the new phenomena in our society. The processes of self-management are making vigorous progress in Bulgaria, and it is not easy to hit upon the right ways and methods straight away. Even the appropriate legislative and executive acts need to be tested and concretized. A decision recorded in the minutes of a meeting is one thing. What happens in real life might be something quite different. We are

glad that our colleagues abroad peruse our paper, but we have run much more sharply critical features on the difficulties of reconstruction. I think that the work team's economic grievances are by far not the root cause of the dispute: it was the men's dignity that had been offended, they were sick and tired of being mere cogs in the machine, they are now really shedding the mentality of the "little man" bogged down by fate at the shop-floor level. The workers have every right to demand justice, openness, accountability. One can't help seeing in all this a new way of looking at work and at our national wealth."

In the eyes of the law:

"From the view point of the law," says lawyer Dimitar Doudakhev, "the workers are liable to disciplinary action for their conduct under the respective provisions of the Labour Code. Once they stop work without permission, the workers should be aware of that and be prepared to take the consequences, which could be as serious as a dismissal for breach of discipline. During my long-time practice, however, I have never come across a case of a whole group of good workers being summarily sacked. I'm almost sure that in the conditions of a nationwide economic overhaul, the management of the company will not opt for such a measure. It seemed rather more inclined to "ignore" the case. The workers, however, are not helpless. Under the new Labour Code, they can even take a workforce vote of confidence in the management. The governing body of the company is the General Assembly of its workforce. The Economic Board, headed by the director, is just an executive (and all the more, an elective) body, and it can be voted out to the last member."

A sociological diagnosis:

"I was in Moscow when I overheard two people on the tube talking about a report of a strike in Bulgaria," recalls Yuri Aslanov, a sociologist and an economist, employed by the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions as a senior expert on

self-management problems. "I just wondered why we are so jittery about that word, strike, for all the industrial disputes we have had and for all the experience we have gained in settling them. Some people say we're in for trouble if we solve all our problems by stopping work. Certainly, if that's the point, the 12 men's one-week sit-down could not have been seriously damaging to our economy, although, in the long term, it might affect the functioning and the interests of that particular work force. But consider this: while there are job vacancies for

80,000 workers in Bulgaria, the idle working time fund amounts to 19 million man-days per annum (you could check that in our statistical yearbook). This is a waste of the year-long labour of 80,000 people! Just as many workers stay idle in this country daily for some reason: most often outages, shortage of feedstock, break-downs, indiscipline, meetings and a million other pretexts to sidetrack people from their work. How come that an outage is OK but a work stoppage is not? How come that incompetence is OK, but a firm protest is not? Let me make one thing clear: I don't approve of those forms of nihilism which are practised in some work forces and even in entire branches of the economy. For instance, there are construction workers who add insult to injury when, despite their chronic absenteeism, they keep their bosses at bay by threatening to quit. As a result, those workers themselves get demoralized and *déclassé*.

That's already a danger to society. In this particular case, I would even praise the work team which was courageous enough to shoulder the responsibility and to try and settle the dispute by its own resources and not just follow the decades-old practice of lodging endless complaints through endless channels. Sofia is literally flooded by complaints. The workforce should turn into a real self-managing economic unit, into a social force. We are restructuring our production, we are changing our social practice, and this type of disputes may well become more and more serious. People should

learn how to exercise their rights, but they should also know how to face up to their responsibilities."

The say of the TU boss:

"This is a strike all right," says Kosta Andreev, Secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, "and we needn't look for euphemisms when we describe the dispute. It's a strike, so what, let's face it. For too long we have been used to thinking that such a thing was out of the question in our socialist society, because we have disregarded the social contradictions which continue to exist under socialism. Now we call on people to participate in self management, we recognize their rights as owners of the fixed assets, why should we be then taken aback when they really want to be informed, to participate, to control? The blue and the white collar workers cease to be mere performers of a function: they stake their wages on the effect of each innovation, and the poor quality of the products hits them in the pocketbook. Openness, accountability, mutual respect: solutions should be sought along these lines. In the case in point, I am entirely on the side of the workers. The trade union local could have done a very good job in the situation, but it stood aloof. I would even say that it is a typical dispute: the administration remained in the same old rut of managerial methods, and the workforce has not yet learned to exercise its rights. We should learn how to live and work in the conditions of democracy, which entails both rights and obligations! If a workforce has a case, it should even be entitled to put the screws on, and I think that we'll have yet to encounter this type of protest. Self management won't take root without improving the general managerial skills, which also include the skill of negotiating, of handling a dispute. Gaining self-management skills and experience may cost us a lot of trouble and even a decline in production at places, but there is simply no alternative! The only possible way out is to observe the principles of self-management."

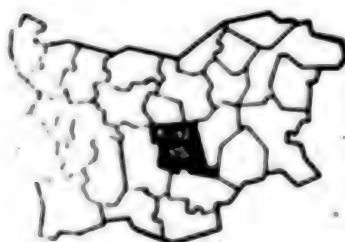
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CSO: 2020/112

STARA ZAGORA, PROGRESSIVE INDUSTRIAL CENTER PROFILED

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 27 May 87 p 4

[Text] Close-up



Close-up

SN is launching a new series, headed Close-up, featured in which will be different regions, districts and cities of Bulgaria. The first article presents the district of Stara Zagora

Bulgaria's fifth largest district, Stara Zagora, covers 5,000 square kilometres in the eastern central part of the country. It also ranks fifth in the size of its population: 450,000 people, 80 per cent of them town-dwellers. Of the district's 200 inhabited localities, ten are towns and cities. Largest among them, is the district's capital, Stara Zagora, with a population of 180,000.

The District of Stara Zagora accounts for 22 per cent of this country's output of electricity. Two-thirds of Bulgaria's electricity exports are generated there. The district is a famous breadbasket, cotton grower and rose attar distiller. It manufactures robots, space industry equipment and textiles renowned far beyond this country's boundaries. Hydraulic machinery and the food industry are also well-developed. The local champagne is readily marketed even in France.

Testing Range of Progress

Stara Zagora district is the first to come to mind whenever examples are to be supplied of energetic and daring administrators. An SN staffer talked to Ivan Krustev, Secretary of the District Committee of the BCP.

Ivan Krustev is 46 years old. He has a university degree in pedagogics, and is a Doctor of Philosophy. He was elected to this post two years ago, after he had occupied various high positions. Ivan Krustev is a native of Stara Zagora.

The district has lately been the site of a series of experiments of nation-wide significance: a shorter working week, new forms of health service, government quality control, etc. Why was Stara Zagora district chosen for this purpose?

The majority of experiments were carried through successfully and are now put into practice all over the country. The district has indeed turned into a kind of a testing range of the la-

test trends in the techno-scientific revolution. Perhaps it was its geographical position which prompted the choice. But that is not our only merit. We have been developing the electronics, robotics, and hydraulics. Stara Zagora district is also one of the biggest cereal, cotton and vegetable suppliers in the country, as well as the biggest producer of the attar of roses. As you see it is quite a colourful mosaic of modern and traditional industries. It is indeed a complicated thing to

administrate such a district, but the results are encouraging.

Do you have any manpower problem? Has migration left the district unaffected?

There is indeed, a shortage of manpower. The Northern parts of the district, the Kazanluk area, found a way out already in the '60s by the moving industries out to the villages, but this was not done in the Southern parts and villages there have been deserted by lots of people. As a result: in the Kazanluk area, some 10, to 12,000 workers commute from the villages to the town, because they hate the idea of leaving their native places, although they find working in the municipal centre very attractive. At the same time part of inhabitants of Stara

Zagora itself prefer to work somewhere in the district, most often at the Maritsa Iztok power-generating complex.

Many people feel they should not sever their bonds with the village. In this way the city-village links become stronger. It is quite natural, for that is where our bread is grown.

From the viewpoint of statistics, living standards in the districts are rather high. How does this affect the birth rates?

We are not immune to the world tendency of high living standards and low birth rates. Even though we have a broad network of excellent kindergartens and creches, covering 80 per cent of the children. Our companies are rich enough to build their own child-care establishments and maintain the schools.

Is the low birth rate the consequence of a housing problem as well?

The housing problem is limited to the big cities only, while a great many houses in the villages are uninhabited. Village houses are big, but the people who live there are few. We hope to be able to solve this problem in the near future: pre-fab construction has assumed large proportions. We cannot help but rely on it for the time being, although we are well aware of its inconveniences. A programme for low-rise housing was recently been adopted.

Bulgarians are "obsessed" with the idea of building at least one house in a life-time. So town and out-of-town houses have mushroomed across the district.

Robot City

Robots have already left the realm of science fiction to become something of a commonplace, even a bore. As if the smart machines have always been around and humans have never crawled under their cars to spray-paint the bottom or have never welded or cut metals at temperatures too high for their protein bodies... And if they no longer do, Stara Zagora's Beroe Combined Works takes some of the credit. It is to this facility that Bulgaria owes her fifth place among the world's leading robot makers.

Two thousand robots of 18 models roll off the lines of this front ranker of our electronics industry. It is helped in this by the extensive development of the district's hydraulics, precision

mechanics, electrical engineering and robotics. All the district's industries have joined forces in the production of robots.

"Quite recently, a technological centre for robotics and robot systems was set up in the city," says Beroe Manager Vasil Tyurkedjiev. "We believe that the involvement of the district's industrial enterprises and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences research institutes will help the vigorous growth of robotics..."

Despite the gladdening statistics, the works' output is, for the time being, restricted to the range of electro-hydraulic robocarriers and to several models of electro-mechanical ones. The product mix also in-

cludes transport, welding and cutting robots, and Soviet car-makers are getting the bulk of their favourite painter robots. Thanks to integration with the USSR, which supplies CNC machine tools, it has been possible to start the manufacturing of robotized complexes where robots play the role of mechanical tools.

This year the combined works will surprise its customers when it will launch an anthropomorphical robot of dramatically enhanced locomotoric function and when it will introduce a ball spindle flow line, the first ever to be produced in a CMEA member country. Bulgaria's Robot City is working hard, but Asimov's positron robots are still a thing of the future...

An Eden Out of a Moonscape?

At one time, that was a real garden of Eden. Now it is a moonscape.

Our land, otherwise sparing of riches, seems to have lavished its abundance here, in the heart of Thrace. It has faced its inha-

bitants with two challenges: a layer of fertility and a coal seam. These treasures have co-existed peacefully for centuries on end, but now they put to a serious test our scale of human values.

When the Maritsa Iztok mines started to be worked thirty years ago, nobody cared about the chernozem. As a result, 13,000 hectares of arable land has been degraded in fertility, and the figure is expected to rise to 30,000 hectares when the complex reaches its design capacity. As little as one-fifth of this area has been reclaimed so far.

Land reclamation is a sensitive, even a painful topic. It costs a pretty penny, and yet it is worthwhile to restore this fertile region to its past glory of a producer of wheat and cotton and grapes and apples.

Ah, That Marketplace

The marketplace is as a rule one of the most spectacular spots in each town. For local people it is a place to replenish their food supplies and for strangers a chance to see the fruit of labour of the village around, and to become familiar with the traditions and spirit of the population. You can buy what not in the open market.

A bunch of parsley and spring onions and a friendly smile. Thus we met Tsandev. He is 64-year old pensioner who grows vegetables in his 0.1 ha garden and sells

Two academic degrees have already been earned in the toughest subject here: soil conservation. Still, it would be hopeless to rely on the dissertations alone. What is needed is urgent action. The future arability of the area depends on its physical and biological recovery.

Sprawling on territory belonging to four districts, the combined works has alienated lands from four agro-industrial complexes. Now Maritsa Iztok has a farming complex of its own. A fraction of its land has been reclaimed, a mere 10 hectares. They were planted with vines and cereals (5 ha of each). Last

year's yields were far from encouraging but, after all, there was the dry spell. Not all hope is lost, then. People who work here say they would like to give the land back to the farmers. For the time being, this rather looks like wishful thinking.

Today the mining complex rises, or rather sinks, amidst a moonscape. It is yet to be seen whether the piles of cinders will rise mountain-high or whether the land will regain its fertility. What is certain even now is that the area's geography at the beginning of next century will depend on our action now.

them in the market. One of Uncle Tsandi's ancestors was famous school. Today the class numbers 1,700. Some time ago they had a family gathering at which 700 people from all over Bulgaria came. There was no room to swing a cat at the feast. And no one knows what amounts were eaten and drunk.

The Bulgarians are proverbial hard workers. Uncle Tsandev gets a good pension as a retired sergeant major but farming runs in his family. He grows peanuts, flowers and vegetables. He says he likes market gardening

which, besides, brings money. He is the customers' favourite because he never uses fertilizer.

We wished him good luck and bought a bunch of parsley and another of spring onions - 20 stotinki each. Uncle Tsandev is not keen on reckoning and the price is one. Next to him a peasant woman was selling fresh eggs - 20 stotinki a piece. The price of radishes was not different. We tried to buy a hen at the same price. Alas, no luck. The measure of things is everywhere but at the marketplace it is the most exact.

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CSO: 2020/112

NEW ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION METHOD FOR SHEEP

AU281504 Sofia BTA in English 0633 GMT 28 May 87

["Bulgaro-French Experiments in Sheep Breeding"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Bulgarian and French specialists successfully experimented a new technology for artificial insemination of sheep. The wide introduction of this technology will make it possible to achieve a rapid genetic progress in sheep breeding.

The experiment was prepared by specialists of the Bulgarian Science and Production Corporation in Cattle and Sheep Breeding and of the Scientific Research Institute of Reproduction and Transplantation in the city of Nonsine, France. The technology for intrauterine artificial insemination and implantation of embryos" [punctuation as received] experimented at the agroindustrial complex in the town of Razlog (southern Bulgaria) with 600 animals. The results proved the efficiency of the new method in an irrefutable way. In the experimental group there were obtained 166.8 lambs per 100 yearned ewes.

As Mr Slavcho Kouymdjiev [spelling of last name as received], director general of the Corporation for Cattle and Sheep Breeding wrote in KOOPERATIVNO SELO, the new technology has a number of advantages over the traditional method. Intrauterine insemination is carried out by the method of laparoscopy using deep frozen seminal liquid. This technology reveals great possibilities before sheep-breeders--for breeding they can use only male animals which have shown their properties through their offspring. And this would mean to abruptly raise the genetic potential in sheep breeding.

Specialists note the fact that the new method makes it possible to use deep frozen seminal liquid in many-fold reduced doses. This technology raises the lambing capability of the ewes two-fold as against the traditional method of insemination. Prolificity is also raised--of 236 yearned ewes 105 gave birth to two, 10 to three and three to four lambs.

The next task of the team which carried out the experiment is to apply a still more sophisticated biotechnology--the transplantation of embryos in sheep breeding by the bloodless method.

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CSO: 2200/107

SLUSOVICE SUCCESS GAINING RECOGNITION IN WEST

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Apr 87 p 1

[Article by Disa Hastad: "Czechoslovakian Model. Profits Give Collective Success"]

[Text] Slusovice, Czechoslovakia--It is said with pride at the collective farm Slusovice that we are the model for the future. Everything is produced here, from top-producing dairy cows to micro computers.

Slusovice is viewed as an experimental undertaking--that is why it receives equipment and money to a degree that is unthinkable in other areas. That is also why competent people prefer to work at Slusovice.

Slusovice, situated in the middle of the country, in Mahren by Gottwaldow, started as an ordinary collective farm in 1949. At the time a number of villages were combined and formed a large agricultural complex. Gradually seventeen villages have been incorporated.

The diversification was started a couple of decades ago. According to the original idea, industrial production is going to keep agricultural collectives afloat even during the off season, when there is not so much to do. Now the computer manufacturing, the micro-biological experiments and the trotting track have made Slusovice known to the outside world. For the last couple of years the farm has been an exhibition project in Czechoslovakia--all foreign visitors are brought here.

Unorthodox

For a while it looked as though even the Soviet Party Chief Michail Gorbachev was going to visit Slusovice, when he was in Prague at the beginning of April. At least Slusovice was part of the tour of the country made by the Soviet Politbureau member, Lev Zajkov, in preparation for Gorbachev's visit some weeks earlier. A new road was started in Slusovice. The plans evidently went awry, however.

Slusovice is certainly an exhibition project--but since completely unorthodox methods are employed, it is also the object of quite a lot of official criticism, even though that is mainly a formality.

Until recently, when Czechoslovakia finally announced that it completely supports the new economic program of restructuring that is taking place in Russia and that corresponding reforms will also take place in Czechoslovakia, everything that did not conform to the planned economy was suspect. Slusovice was certainly favored--it is evident, if nothing else, from the self-confidence of its leaders. The fact that they could offer a model for the future, however, was not clear until the last couple of months.

The chairman, Frantisek Cuba, proudly drives around in his service BMW. Other collective chairmen usually ride in domestic Tatra-cars with chauffeurs--but Cuba can allow himself something extra. His farm is, after all, the most profitable enterprise in all of Czechoslovakia.

The secret of the success of Slusovice is that its members work according to profit principles. The visiting journalists are told that the members own their own tools--then they are better cared for and kept in top condition. This is the case here, the tractor driver owns the tractor.

They tell us at Slusovice that they can pay people more, which makes them work better. They decide their own wages.

Cattle-breeding and milk-production are one of the cornerstones at Slusovice. The cows are kept indoors--they don't like to go out, we are told. There are experiments with the cattle in order to produce strains with higher milk-production, the cows are stimulated with hormones in order to have eight to twelve ovulations where normally they would only have one. The eggs are frozen if fertilized eggs cannot be implanted in surrogate mothers.

Advanced

"In five years we can accomplish what in other places takes 30 years with cross-fertilization," says the head of the transplantation center proudly.

At the micro-biological station we get a quick demonstration of the advanced equipment that is used to produce a biologically based pesticide--more effective and better than chemical preparations since it only attacks those pests that it is intended for and does not enter the food chain, we are told.

Milan Zeleny, who is a department manager, tells us what made him leave Prague: the high salaries, the ease of finding competent workers and above all the favored position for receiving foreign equipment--completely different from the planned state sector, where the wait is long. His family also has a nice place to live in the still fairly rural Mahren.

The manufacture of computers is also a cherished branch. 20 computers a day are produced here. It is done by local people with some specialists brought in. Software is also manufactured here. The computers are used in agriculture and the transportation service--30 percent are for home use and the rest is exported, primarily to the Soviet Union.

The stores in Slusovice are also better stocked than in other places. Sometimes this means that more exclusive articles can be found (such as imported tea from England) which raises the level of prices. There are 26 shops besides 18 restaurants, a sports complex and a hotel where the many visitors can stay.

Twice last winter, however, Slusovice was under fire. Once for manufacturing insulation material for nuclear power plants. Slusovice was finally proven right, although a student and teacher initiative for starting the production last fall led to sentences for introducing "exploitation methods"--since nobody else wanted to manufacture these insulation blankets, which after all are needed.

The other case concerned the reuse of rubber, where Slusovice was going to capitalize on the reserve of raw material contained in old discarded tires.

Now it seems as though Slusovice's unorthodox methods are becoming the norm. The cooperative management is pleased and talks confidently about July 1, 1987 when the new official economic instructions are going to be published and implemented. Then Slusovice will be directly responsible to the Ministry.

"Cooperatives similar to us," says Chairman Frantisek Cuba, "have always had more freedom even under the old economy. It is not true that we were favored by the prime minister (Lubomir Strougal, who was the first in the country to speak of economic restructuring). On the contrary, the prime minister and I have never met."

It is not denied at Slusovice that there is opposition to the new economic currents in Czechoslovakia. Even though it now sounds as if there never had been any other intent than to reform the economy and that this question was raised already at the party convention last year.

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CSO:3650/125

ROLE OF PRIVATE FARMING REVIEWED, ECONOMIC INCENTIVES CITED

East Berlin WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT in German Vol 35 No 4, Apr 87 pp 536-556

[Article by Klaus Ahrends, Dr of Economics, born 1948, director of research for the Institute for Socialist Political Economy, Academy of Social Sciences, CC SED; and by Prof Kurt Groschoff, Dr of Economics, born 1921, with the same institute, member GDR Academy of Agriculture; and by Prof Richard Heinrich, Dr of Economics, born 1922, lecturer at the same institute, member of the editorial staff of WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT; and by Prof Hermann Wirsig, Dr of Economics, born 1930, deputy director of the same institute. "Subsidiary Farming in the GDR" The initial paragraph is the source's English language summary.]

[Text] The authors explain the development of subsidiary farming over a prolonged historical process, promoted by legislative measures. They point out that it is an important factor for economic and social progress in the villages and is firmly integrated in socialist society. Subsidiary farming appropriately complements socialist large-scale farming. In the GDR subsidiary farming is mainly a sideline of cooperative farmers on their private plots and of workers and other working people organized in the Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Stock Breeders. Subsidiary farming is closely harmonized with the production of socialist farming enterprises and is supported by them as well as by the Farmers' Mutual Aid Association and the Farmers' Trading Cooperatives. The authors furthermore deal with the forms and the efficiency of marketing produce from subsidiary farming. Based on an analysis of the effectiveness of the system of economic leverage they outline basic trends of its perfection.

The economic strategy issued by the 11th SED Congress with a view to the year 2000 demands of agriculture a further boost of the production volume and, at the same time, an improvement in the cost/benefit ratio. The point is to exhaust all the reserves for the ambitious targets of the 1985-1990 5-year plan, further to develop the production in the agricultural producers cooperatives (LPG's) and the state farms (VEG's), which continue as the basic units of social production in the countryside,¹ and to use also in connection with it the potentials of individual small-scale farm production. "In the future also individual production in the private plots of the cooperative farmers and workers and in the Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Stock Breeders will find our full support. It has a permanent and firm place on our balance sheets and most effectively complements our social production."²

Also in the resolution of the 13th Farmers Congress, private farming has been given the prominence it deserves. Through the sale as well as the production of their own supplies the private farmers are making a noteworthy supply contribution. They are producing mainly produce, fruit, flowers, eggs, wool, rabbits, water poultry, beef and pork and precious furs. Whereas the private farmers' share in the major cultures like grain, potatoes, or sugar beets in the national output is insignificant, it ranks highly in livestock production, fruit, and vegetables. In 1984, the private livestock production share of the market at large came to 10.5 percent, of which that of sheep wool came to 22 percent, that of egg production, to more than 33 percent. In fruit, the proportion exceeded 30 percent, in produce, 17 percent. The domestically produced bee's honey comes from private plots at nearly 100 percent.

Subsidiary farming in animal products rose by 118 percent between 1981 and 1985, most of which by far came out of private efforts by small producers not engaged in agriculture as their main trade. The Association of Allotment Gardeners and Small Stock Breeders (VKSK) commands a large share of this growth, as shown by Table 1.

Right now, some 10 percent of all the GDR's agriculture acreage is used by members of LPG's and GPG's [horticultural producer cooperatives], LPG and VEG workers, and working people from non-agricultural sectors for subsidiary farming. The plots of LPG and GPG members make up some 42 percent of the acreage used for subsidiary farming, those of the VKSK members, roughly 7 percent. Soil use through personal plots in the cooperatives has greatly increased in the most recent past, by some 10 percent between 1980 and 1983. The number of allotment gardens also grew by 122,800 from 1977 to 1983, amounting to a growth of 19 percent. This trend is continuing. By 1990 there will be another 150,000 new allotment gardens.³

A vast portion of the GDR population is engaged in subsidiary farming. Two-thirds of the LPG members and workers have personal plots. That includes more than 1 million people. The number of citizens with families engaged in subsidiary farming through private plots and gardens and husbandry comes to several millions, that of the VKSK to nearly 1.2 million members. Other citizens are in addition--more or less consciously--tied in with such small-scale production either as directly receiving products from private plots and subsidiary farms or in different ways, by dint of being interested. The SED's farm policy line on subsidiary farming, the attitude of state organs toward it, and the promotional and regulating measures thus affect the interests of millions of GDR citizens.

The Nature, Need and Utility of Subsidiary Farming in Socialism

After the socialist transformation of agriculture, along with the main forms of farm production--in the GDR, the LPG's, VEG's, and GPG's with the cooperative facilities and the state-owned livestock or crop production enterprises--there exist still other forms. Though they greatly differ socioeconomically and in other respects, they are almost always placed under one general category--according to a given country, e.g. as "agricultural small-scale production," or "individual and other agricultural production," or "subsidiary and private plots." The main portion of it is always made up of that small-scale farm

production (horticultural production always included) engaged in by working people apart from their major activity that defines their social status (their membership in classes and strata) or by non-working people (retired persons or housewives). It is closely tied up with socialist large-scale production, as will still be explained, and relies directly on the personal property of those working people and the extra work they perform. The yield is used for self-supply and/or for attaining extra income. This small-scale production is not the essential subsistence base for these working people nor, as a rule, their major source of income.

This small-scale production is normally called "individual production," even in the GDR. So we are using this term sometimes also in this article. Theoretically, it would be more accurate to call it personal agricultural small-scale production. Two aspects appear to speak for it: in socialism it relies, as already pointed out, directly on the property of the working people that is generally referred to as personal (not as individual). It mainly also follows from this connection with personal property that the plots of the cooperative farmers--when an expanded term is needed--are called personal plots. The term "personal agricultural small-scale production" would also distinguish them more clearly from other agricultural (including horticultural) production of a smaller dimension that exists in socialism outside of social production. As is well known, to a small extent there also exists in the GDR a private farming (or horticultural) trade. It is carried on, as a major trade, on the basis of a private ownership in the means of production and like a cottage industry--often even by means of some degree of wage labor.⁴ This in principle differs socio-economically from the above mentioned small-scale production.

Not so rarely this is simply also understood as a continuation of previous small-scale production under the conditions of socialism. Even if historic roots go back to the pre-socialist era, it yet would be wrong to rate it as a relic of that period and its social relations. Such a rating easily leads to the conclusion that this small-scale production ought to be gradually done away with. Even if external manifestations of the previous small-scale production survive, this farm production, as taken over from the past and not engaged in as the main trade, changes substantively under the conditions of socialist production relations. For it and the newly generated individual small-scale production through the plots of the cooperative members and in other ways (e.g. through setting up new allotment gardens), the following considerations are vital:

--The basis for this small-scale production is and remains the social production of the socialist enterprises. That is most clearly recognizable in the plots of the LPG cooperative farmers and workers and those employed in the VEG's. For them the chance of working their private plots depends on their activities in their enterprises for the present or past, tied into them also through their being provisioned with livestock feed, young livestock and, in part, direct performances even. Working tools and objects the working people in socialism acquire for their small-scale production mostly come out of their social production; products made for the market are mostly bought up by socialist enterprises, and some of that consists of contract production for socialist enterprises. Individual agricultural small-scale production is tied up this way and in other ways with the socialist planned economy. The development of socialist

economic production in general and of socialist agricultural production, in particular, affect small-scale production in its socioeconomic content and its goals significantly.

--Individual small-scale production depends on the work the producers and their family members do themselves and in addition to their main trade or without being employed elsewhere. A boosting of this labor potential through the application of wage labor would change the socioeconomic character of this small-scale production.⁵

--The means of production used for small-scale production--soil, livestock, barns, equipment and so forth--are personal property or property lent the working people for a temporary purpose-related utilization in small-scale production.

--Individual agricultural small-scale production in socialism serves the improvement of the living conditions of these working people and their family members. They are not engaged in this production to boost the private ownership in means of production. Their small-scale production is a source of extra natural produce and monetary income from their own work and serves the satisfaction of food requirements these families have as well as, increasingly, their leisure time activities and the satisfaction of creative interests. So it serves the development of the working people into socialist producers and socialist personalities.

--Individual agricultural small-scale production is engaged in by members of all classes and strata in socialist society. Most of the time they are employed with state-owned or cooperative enterprises, state organizations and institutions and social organizations or are family members or veterans of labor. They are social proprietors--relative to public property, as members of cooperatives also with respect to any given cooperative property. The special organizations of the agricultural small-scale producers are socialist mass organizations (VdgB [Farmers' Mutual Aid Association], VKSK).

Table 1: Supply Performance for Selected Products

Commodity	1980	1985	Share of National Output 1985 in Percent
Fruit	162,106 t	288,533 t	33.3
Vegetable	114,192 t	173,490 t	11.4
Bee's honey	2,612 t	5,087 t	97.9
Domestic rabbits	14,005 t	33,871 t	99.96
Domestic geese	1,207 t	4,201 t	63.5
Eggs	1,791 million	1,727.8 million	35.7
Rabbit skins	7,241.4 thousand	11,573.8 thousand	100.0
Nutria skins	147.5 thousand	202.7 thousand	93.3
Wool	1,487 t	2,230 t	30.5

Source: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 December 1986, p 3.

Of great importance for the social attitude toward individual agricultural small-scale production and for dealing with it through agrarian policy, along with its socioeconomic evaluation, is an assessment of the causes for its existence, i.e., its need and utility for socialist society. From the causes for its existence one may derive inferences with respect to the permanence or temporary nature of this small-scale production in socialism.

The first set of causes for its existence is the developmental status of the productive forces in conjunction with the specifics of agricultural production. Of great influence are the diverse mechanization potentials for the various production processes for crop and livestock commodities, the distinct degrees of mechanization obtained at any time and the differentiated suitability of such commodities--due to their biological nature--for large-scale production. For technical, technological and efficiency reasons and because of what some commodities are like, it is not possible in the foreseeable future to produce every kind of crop and livestock product by way of large-scale production.

An important aspect of the benefit of this small-scale production patently is that through it one can produce precisely such products for which there are no or not sufficiently effective procedural solutions for socialist large-scale production or the production of which still is so labor-intensive that it overtaxes the possibilities of the LPG's or VEG's. Choosing this path serves the goal of socialism. It suits the interest of socialist society to promote and lend material incentives to this small-scale production trend.

A second set of causes is found in the developmental status and the specifics of the socialist production relations. As far as the private plots of the cooperative members are concerned, we have already pointed out that they exist only in connection with cooperative socialist property. The plots are often and variously seen mainly still as a form of consideration paid the personal interests of former individual peasants, which then seems to be a temporary phenomenon that would lose its importance through the economic growth of the LPG's and in the change of the generations. Undoubtedly this ruling allowing the cooperative farmers a private plot on the side eased many individual farmers into LPG's during the socialist transformation of agriculture. Yet in evaluating the private plots one must go beyond this historical connection. At present the private plots of the cooperative farmers are a socioeconomic category of socialist agriculture of their own, a component of the socialist production relations.

For all individual small-scale production--so also for the private plots--there exists and functions the following fundamental connection between social and personal property in socialism that is a significant cause for there being that small-scale production: The efficient use and perfecting of public property is the basis for the growth of the producers' personal property acquired through their own work, the social purpose of which is to serve the individual demand satisfaction. Socialist production relations not only allow those members of society who have a personal interest in it to use a part of such personal property for productive purposes on the basis of their own work and for the benefit of the proprietor and his family and that of society. They require and encourage this development because and insofar as it serves better to satisfy the specific individual material needs and creative leisure time interests of the working people concerned and benefits socialist society on the whole as well.

A third set of causes, intertwined with the others already mentioned, lies in the satisfying of individual interests and needs. The reasons and the motives derived from them for engaging in individual small-scale production of farm commodities for one's own needs and for the market are diverse, are uneven and broadly faceted as to the various working people and social groups. That includes an interest in extra income in natural commodities and cash through self-supply and market production, in self-provisioning in products that would not be available or only inadequately or through higher outlays via the market (including also a need for one's own sausage from domestic slaughter or the like), the interest in sensible, creative leisure time organization and use, in a change of pace, in handling crops and animals. Relative to changing conditions (such as the income level or the working and living conditions) the weight of the various motives involved has changed.

As, e.g., in the founding phase of the LPG's the chief motive for the members for cultivating a plot was securing a certain level of provisions and some extra income, what thereafter is gaining increasing importance is the interest in providing oneself with products that conform to specific needs for nourishment and eating habits (such as specialties from slaughtering at home) as well as the motive of sensible, useful, and creative leisure time organization, based on peasant traditions.

Especially during the first postwar years, agricultural small-scale production mainly was a source for improving the availability of provisions. The much greater interest citizens have shown recently in this type of production, by people who are not engaged in socialist agrarian production, reflected by the growth of the VKSK, is motivated mainly by the need for recreation and meaningful leisure time activity, many people's growing interest in nature and in finding an activity that contrasts with their main occupation.⁶

It follows from the causes as presented in terms of these three sets of circumstances that individual agricultural small-scale production will remain a standard feature of socialism. The relative importance of the various causes will undoubtedly change through the process of historic development, but the sets of causes described are going to remain in effect.

The benefit society at large derives from individual agricultural small-scale production, in the authors' opinion, mainly lies in the following:

--It expands the use of the production premises extant in society.⁷ Part of that also is that split acreage not used or not fully used heretofore, harvesting residue on the fields of the socialist agricultural enterprises that may come in well as livestock feed, local kitchen offal, and other fodder reserves not used in social production will be utilized in production. It facilitates the use of available production sites and means not or only slightly suitable for large-scale production. One may also refer here to the use of an insufficiently exploited labor capacity (e.g. in the families of cooperative farmers) and the willingness to do some extra work for one's own small-scale production.

--Through self-provisioning and market production it helps meet the demand for certain commodities and boost self-provisioning in certain territories.

--Socially organized, it contributes to the preservation and expansion of the genetic potential of domestic animals and useful plants.

--It makes a useful contribution to landscaping in that land that was wasted or vacant before is being worked on and allotment garden spots are turned into public recreational centers for the population.

--It gives many people access to plants and animals and functions educationally--especially for children--in instilling respect for the natural environment. It may help develop love for work in children and exercise an influence on one's vocational options. In the rural population this small-scale production strengthens their bonds with the village. A lucrative subsidiary economy, a well managed and productive domestic and allotment garden, and successful small stock maintenance and breeding help personalities getting into the act, which in turn has positive effects on the working people's creativeness and initiative in other fields.

These beneficial effects⁸ for society presuppose that small-scale production is and remains something sensibly complementary to the social production of the LPG's, VEG's and other facilities. Complementary in this sense, it is not an alien substance in socialism but, over the long run, a necessary and meaningful component of the socialist economic system conforming to the requirements of the basic economic law of socialism and, hence, something to be encouraged.

Close Ties Between Individual Small-Scale Production and Socialist Agricultural Enterprises, State Organs, and Mass Organizations

With this high appreciation for personal agricultural small-scale production there comes then also the task to seek ways that would still better tap its potentials. One way to it undoubtedly is a closer tie between small-scale production and the socialist agricultural enterprises, especially the LPG's and VEG's, the local people's representations,⁹ and the local VdGB and BHG [Farmer's Trading Cooperatives] organizations.

Two important tasks can thereby be solved:

- The preservation and shaping of the socioeconomic character of small-scale production as an individual production by socialist producers and proprietors;
- and providing the material and organizational support for such production.

This socioeconomic character is decisive for having agricultural small-scale production over the long haul turn into a regular and useful component of socialist agriculture, of socialist society as such. The objective foundation of it lies in that the personal small-scale production is carried out by working people who simultaneously are socialist proprietors (as cooperative members or social proprietors of public property). That also offers the basis for that socialist large-scale production and personal small-scale production, rather than being contradictory categories, generally offer the chance for closely cooperating for mutual benefit. By using this chance, to a certain degree features of a planned development may be fashioned. For all that, proceeding

from the givens as well as from the already accomplished level in this process, one may distinguish at least three groups of this personal small-scale production: first, the private plots of the cooperative farmers and others working in agriculture as their main trade; second, small-scale producers whose main trade is outside of agriculture (not counting the small-scale producing tradesmen); and third, the small-scale producers organized in VKSK.

For the cooperative farmers with private plots and the LPG and VEG workers the relations with socialist large-scale production are close and more intensive in several respects because:

- the material prerequisites for such private small-scale production were generated in the first place, by and large, through the enterprise in socialist large-scale production (LPG's or VEG's) in which the small-scale producer found his main place of work;
- maintaining small-scale production is made dependent on a certain amount of work performed in the given enterprise of socialist large-scale production;
- supplying the small-scale production with material is undertaken largely by the socialist agricultural enterprises (partly at preferential terms for those who do not primarily work in agriculture); and
- the use of certain resources not accessible or only with difficulties accessible to large-scale production also directly serves the interests of the particular socialist enterprise. (E.g., the use of leased spots and other broken lots, ridges of acres and shoulders of roadbeds serves field hygiene.)

It also conforms to the objective givens and the interests of both forms of production when the socialist enterprise in principle functions as a "broker" for selling commodities of its small-scale producers, at least for the kind of commodities it is also manufacturing in its large-scale production.

Thus there are then a number of objective conditions that would make it appear sensible for a socialist enterprise (LPG/VEG) to give stronger support still to the small-scale production of its members, at least for types of commodities it also produces at large-scale. To the extent that this is not yet done, or is only incompletely done, it can be attained by the following:

- Negotiating the signing of contracts between its small-scale producers and the processing enterprises or commercial institutions concerned. Through economic incentives by the processing enterprises one could seek as high a proportion of contracted production as possible;
- handling the transports or their organization for these commodities of the small-scale producers at cost;
- providing veterinary medical or phytopathological care for the small-scale production against adequate fees; and
- furnishing means of production (young livestock, seeds and plants, at favorable prices). Livestock feed provisions also, governed by contracts, could be taken care of via LPG's or VEG's.

That would provide the members of the enterprise with certain preferential terms. They could help stimulate the development of personal plots and, if properly tied in with social production, strengthen the interest in the further development of the enterprise, the LPG or VEG. Questions of how these ties between materially assisting the private plots and providing a close contact with the socialist large-scale production in the enterprise for mutual advantage could be made still more effective are certainly worth considering.

It would be in the interest of both the small-scale producers and society to establish close ties between socialist agricultural enterprises and VKSK branches. LPG's, GPG's, and VEG's producing fruits and vegetables (in the process of expanding territorial self-supply the network will become tighter) could support the next relevant branch with measures like soil working, fertilizing, plant protection, fruit tree trimming, possibly even fruit or produce processing or canning (storage). Analogous ties might be contemplated between VKSK livestock breeders and socialist livestock production enterprises. That would put more of a burden on a socialist agricultural enterprise, to be sure, but it would also significantly enhance its chance of affecting the socially beneficial development of small-scale production in its territory. Through close cooperation with the local state organs one should also see to it that agricultural small-scale production make a noteworthy difference to increasing territorial self-provisioning, especially with young crop products (like produce, fruit, herbs, flowers).

A decisive condition for developing private small-scale production is providing technical and agrarian means of production and services. Tapping all the possibilities of private small-scale production calls for making steadily available all sorts of means of production geared especially to the conditions of small-scale production. The form, scope, and price level emit essential impulses on the attitude of the small-scale producers, influence is brought to bear on the structure of cultures, and then one can get oriented to commodities of especially high value and use value for the economy.

In supplementing the providing of principally agrarian means of production for the private plots of the cooperative farmers and workers by LPG's and VEG's, the Vdgb and the BHG have to tackle big tasks in supplying small-scale production with means of production and services. Great efforts in this respect are already under way. Apart from tapping production reserves in the cooperative economy, the mobilizing of the members for boosting cooperative outputs, and the improvement of their effectiveness, the economic activities of the Vdgb are aimed mainly at encouraging and assisting the development of agricultural small-scale production, especially the private plots of the cooperative farmers and gardeners. The Vdgb initiatives developed for the purpose of encouraging private small-scale farm production and the material-technical prerequisites created for it are diverse in kind. For all intents and purposes they may be summarized in five points:

1. Organization and development of activities in support and for the promotion of agricultural small-scale production in local organizations;
2. Services in provisioning by the BHG in the Vdgb for the small-scale producers;
3. Vdgb/BHG services to develop private small-scale farm production;
4. Vdgb/BHG services in processing and marketing commodities of small-scale production; and
5. production of means of production for developing private small-scale farm production through BHG facilities.

To make still more effective the longtime proven cooperation between the boards of the Vdgb/BHG and the VKSK and to ensure the provisioning of VKSK members and other small-scale producers with seeds and plants, fruit trees, fertilizers, young livestock and other means of production, an agreement was drawn up between

the central boards of the two organizations. Its aim is to reconcile the network of sales outlets and service facilities to the territorial needs. The idea is to supply the small-scale producers via short routes, organize special sales in the VKSK branches, and set up service bases. The latter facilitates renting machines, ground working equipment, and crop protection, insecticide and fruit processing appliances. The development of joint VdGB/BHG and VKSK facilities also is used to support small-scale production. The network of commercial facilities is becoming much wider and denser.

The provisioning of the cooperative farmers, VKSK members and the rest of the village population by the VdGB/BHG is a regular component of individual production. Without the BHG's steadily making the appropriate means of production available that are geared to the conditions of small-scale production, rural small-scale production is not even conceivable at the present time. The turnover in commodities for the population carried out by the BHG more than doubled from 1975 to 1985. In the increase in total turnover the three basic categories of fuels, house-yard-garden, and construction materials were almost equally proportioned.

Furthermore the BHG's, commissioned by the state-owned grain economy enterprises, supply the small-scale producers with concentrate feed to a significant degree. In 1983, e.g., the BHG's sold concentrate feed at a clip of M 332.7 million. This performance also helps greatly ensure and improve the material prerequisites for animal small-scale production on a continuing basis.

Among the BHG services rendered the small-scale farm producers that were much expanded especially in the 1980's is the rental of means of production. The number of BHG rental depots grew from 623 in 1975 to 3,519 in 1985. The cost for leased equipment rose in the same time frame from M 1.08 to 33 million (Cf. Table 4).

Between 1980 and 1983 alone, the BHG set up nearly 300 new supply and service facilities and 2,955 supply depots. Through the BHG supply network now almost 60 percent of all communities are taken care of by a sales and service facility. The increased backing for small-scale farm production requires further perfecting the BHG supply facilities network. And now, along with setting up more stationary supply facilities and depots, more also is made of mobile forms of trading (sales vans) and a rotational manner of supplying local organizations, with several orders getting combined. These forms of supplying the small-scale farm producers with means of production and selected industrial consumer goods help shorten the shopping routes and time frames for the small-scale producers by means of socially justifiable labor efforts.

To meet the small producers' growing needs for mechanization, one requires, along with expanding in-house production of simple means of production by BHG facilities, also a higher commodity fund or expanded assortments through new industrial products. When means of production are made available it is important to pay attention to any given specific requirements in a given territory.

Growing importance for individual agricultural small-scale production is going to attach to making working tools available for stipulated periods, especially construction machines and equipment. This will allow many small producers

systematically to improve their production conditions through relatively mild efforts or create for themselves the material-technical prerequisites for such production. That would also encourage the extension, conversion and new construction of barns for private husbandry.

While the need for construction machinery and equipment can already by and large be met with what the BHG leasing depots dispose of, that for motorized machines for field working, upkeep and the harvest is still growing. Satisfying such growing needs, that are not even fully met as of now, is becoming an important developmental trend in productive BHG services for the second half of the 1980's. And then there is the problem that lending motorized small-scale equipment, like the small E 930 tractor and its accessories, does not ensure the small producers will use it effectively enough, as the needed expert operation of it is not in each case ensured. A solution could be to form regular operating crews for these tractors using members of the BHG, the VdgB local organizations, and the VKSK, who would run such machines and carry out the labor processes involved in the form of services. This could result in a much higher capacity use or effectiveness in operating such equipment.

Mechanizing small-scale production through rental services does not preclude more mechanization in the motorized working tools the small producers themselves acquire. The economic need to encourage small-scale production through creating possibilities for private ownership in the means of some working tools stems from the growing demand and the ability to pay many small producers have thanks to their extra income from the sale of products as well as from the diverse magnitudes, locations, and intensities in ground working or the scope of the private small-scale production. But also the efficiency of the BHG rental service and the small producers' territorial concentration have an influence on it.

Table 2: Growth of the BHG Supply Network

Year	1975	1980	1985
Number of BHG's	354	273	273
Number of Supply and Service Facilities	1,979	1,981	2,360
Number of Provisioning Depots	-	-	3,646

Table 3: Growth of Public GHB Turnover, 1975-1985 (in million mark)

Year	1975	1980	1985	1985/1975 (percentage)
Total turnover, of which	1,101.8	2,096.4	2,901	269.6
Building Materials	371.5	628.4	813	218.8
House, Yark Garden	412.8	662.2	1,042	252.4
Solid Fuels	317.5	774.2	1,085	341.7

Table 4: Growth of BHG Service Network, 1975-1985

Year	1975	1980	1985	1985/75 (percent)
Number of Rental Depots	623	1,770	3,519	580.9
Cost of Rental Equipment in Million Marks	1.08	16.17	33	3,055.6

Source: Own computations

Effective Marketing Ensures High Supply Effects of Subsidiary Farm Products

Not only the production, circulation as well determines the supply effects of subsidiary farm production in socialism. Merchandise distribution is an objectively existing connective link between production and consumption for all the subsidiary farm products not meant for one's own consumption. So it largely depends on the rational structure of the circulation channels whether the commodities produced above and beyond the small producers' own demands become indeed fully supply-effective, do in fact reach the end consumer, and thus help improve the population's standard of living.

The general socioeconomic characteristics of distributing the products of subsidiary farming in socialism may be summarized along the following three points:

1. Buying up and selling subsidiary farm products show the interaction of various property forms, the socialist ownership in the means of production dominating them. While the purchasing of them is handled almost completely by state-owned or cooperative trade and production enterprises and communal feeding facilities, private traders or small producers also get involved in selling the subsidiary farm products to the end consumer. That calls for a direct state control over the marketing processes for subsidiary farm products in a territory. And one always has to seek solutions here that ensure a high supply effect by way of lowest expenditures.
2. Buying up and selling subsidiary farm products is a component of socialist distribution relations or assumes decisive features of the socialist distribution relations. Any inadequate distribution or redistribution of income through marketing therefore, in violation of the performance principle, detracts from what this process should be.
3. Buying up and selling subsidiary farm products is an inseparable element in the socialist planned economy system. The marketing of subsidiary farm products essentially proceeds according to plan, that is to say, it is not governed by spontaneous marketing principles. For all intents and purposes, this is a process organized and run by the socialist state. When one describes the marketing of subsidiary farm products like this, one must take into account, however, that the manner of planning in this sphere is achieved primarily by using the categories of price and contract.

The basic economic criterion in marketing subsidiary farm products lies in buying up or making supply-effective through direct sales all the products above and beyond the producers' own demands. From that is derived a general obligation the state-owned processing combines and the purchasing bureaus of the socialist wholesale and retail enterprises have to accept all the products the small producers offer them. The basic economic marketing criterion implies making the delivery route from the small producers to the end consumers as brief and snappy as possible so that all bought up products, which are normally very perishable--especially the fruit and the produce--become supply-effective without quality impairment or loss in volume. This purpose conforms to the guideline to consume the products primarily in the very territory in which they were bought. Chiefly using subsidiary farm products to increase the degree of territorial self-supply is, mainly from the vantage point of the embodied labor economy, the most efficient solution. It keeps down transport costs and fuels.

Defining self-supply as the most efficient marketing option, to be sure, applies only within the limits set by the local demands. If one produces for the market above and beyond the territorial demands, as is the case in some traditional regions for growing certain fruit and vegetable varieties, one arrives at a new frame of reference for a maximal, temporal and local, congruence between the purchasing and selling of subsidiary farm products. That may then be a kreis or a bezirk or even the entire GDR. Looking exclusively at territorial self-supply, regardless of concrete demand/supply proportions and concomitant production and distribution losses, would violate elemental requirements of the basic economic law. That would conform neither with the SED's agrarian policy orientations of making everything that is grown supply-effective nor with the criterion for economic rationality. For this reason one has to look much more carefully at the demand for reducing trans-bezirk fruit and produce transports relative to territorial demand/supply proportions. In practically applying the basic criterion for buying up the subsidiary farm products, one must furthermore take into account that the most favorable option from the vantage point of the embodied labor economy in the relation between the buying up and selling of subsidiary farm products normally leads to more labor and sometimes even to more basic assets expenditures. Certain specialization, concentration, and rationalization effects in the trade cannot be effected through orienting to a maximally local congruence between buying up and selling the small producers' market production.

Livestock and crop production commodities are bought up separately for organizational and legal reasons. Responsible for organizing the purchasing of animal products are the enterprises in the state-owned combine for the processing of animal raw materials and fur-bearing animal production, the state-owned poultry economy enterprises, and the meat and dairy combines. In close cooperation with the local state organs, the VdgB, the VKSK, the socialist agricultural enterprises, and retail trade, they are organizing the purchasing of animal products in the territory.

There is in general no problem with buying up cattle and eggs from subsidiary farm production. The purchasing network for eggs covers all the territory since the consumer stores and retail trade outlets are drawn into it, the distances between production places and sales outlets are small, and the times the shops keep open accommodate the purchasing business. The purchasing of cattle is as a rule organized in such a way that the small producer can bring out his market products with an acceptable degree of expenditure. Reserves in further reducing transports lie in still better coordinating the purchasing as between the socialist agricultural enterprises and the private small stock breeders. There are sometimes purchasing bottlenecks due mainly to the limited capacity of some butcher shops.

A great economic importance attaches to a higher degree of exploiting animal raw materials in subsidiary farming (sheep wool, rabbit skins, pig skins, water poultry feathers). The purchasing of such raw materials at present is handled by 1,482 facilities belonging to the state-owned combine for the processing of animal raw materials and fur-bearing animal production or working for it on contract. These facilities in 1983 purchased 1,211,5 tons of sheep wool (more than one-sixth of the whole GDR agricultural production), 3,335,800 rabbit skins, 36,400 pig skins, and 98 tons of water poultry feathers.

Surveys have established that considerable volumes of animal raw materials from subsidiary farming are not as yet bought up because of, in part, long hauling distances, waiting periods, and unfavorable business hours, are lost to the economy, and make imports then necessary. This is a reserve that has to be tapped by improving the purchasing conditions and also the storage and canning possibilities.

Also in the buying up of subsidiary crop products several economic management areas are involved. Along with the fruit, vegetable, eating potatoes (OGS) combines, the consumer cooperatives and the state retail enterprises, there are processing enterprises, plant cafeterias and other institutions with mess halls (kindergartens, nurseries, old-age homes, recreation homes) that are buying directly. In 1984 there were circa 18,000 purchasing shops for fruit and vegetables alone. That gives us an efficient purchasing network for fruit and vegetables, having so many shops that it can cover the whole area for marketing all the fruit and vegetable exceeding the demands the small producers themselves have for them. Virtually each fairly large locality now has the chance to buy fruit and vegetable from small-scale production.

Of the circa 18,000 purchasing shops, roughly 2,500 are run by the OGS combines. These purchasing shops, concentrated mainly in the bezirks and kreises with a traditionally high fruit and vegetable yield out of small-scale production,¹⁰ also take care of most of the crop products bought up from small-scale producers. In 1982, the purchasing shops of the state-owned OGS alone bought up 84.6 percent of all the fresh vegetables and 82.6 percent of the fresh fruit. State and cooperative retail, although running more than four-fifth of all purchasing shops, came to a share of 7.1 and 9.7 percent respectively of the purchase total in the same period.

Qualitative developmental factors move to the center of further expanding the fruit and vegetable purchasing network in the second half of the 1980's. They are connected with providing the purchasing personnel with higher training and with the rationalization of fruit and vegetable purchasing and storage processes through setting up a material-technical base adequate to this form of distribution. Such measures must help reduce the still available relatively long waiting periods in peak purchasing periods, carry out purchasing with greater expertise, and trim losses through quality preserving temporary storage.

A specific form of the marketing of subsidiary farming crops are the farmers, weekly, fruit and vegetable markets. They have proven themselves in recent years thanks to the initiative of the local state organs, the VKSK branches, the local VdgB organizations and the socialist trade enterprises as regular or seasonal marketing methods for subsidiary farm crop. Especially in the small and medium-size towns the number of markets has notably risen. There were 410 fruit and produce markets in 1982, 427 in 1983, and 488 in 1984. The small farm producers realize the biggest portion of the turnover on these markets.

As to small-scale production, what renders this marketing method unique is, for one thing, that the production and the selling of products to the end consumer are personal and thus also, in socioeconomic respects, identical, not organized in terms of a division of labor. The individual small producer functions as a

trader simultaneously. The personal identity of producer and seller brings it about that the time spans between the harvest and the consumption of the products are shortened further, the genuine and bogus distribution expenses for small-scale products sold on the markets need not be borne by the socialist trade enterprises, so that the marketing of these products then hardly demands any economically relevant resources, and commercial losses are minimized. Moreover, the markets fulfil certain cultural needs; going to market often becomes an element of spending one's leisure time sensibly for many working people.

Another unique feature of the farmers, weekly, fruit and produce markets is that they are directly organized and supervised by the socialist state. The local state organs set down not only the site, the market days and the business hours of the markets, but even the price in effect at a given market day. For organizing the market process and supervising sales, according to legal regulations, they appoint a market director. Commissioned by the local state organs, the market director is accountable only to them. Measures of the state promotion of the markets, however, also are: the raising of a symbolic market fee, the guarantee from the socialist large-scale enterprises on buying up merchandise not sold, and the providing of packaging and storage containers for fruit and vegetables.

In spite of the expansion of the markets in recent years and the by far still unexhausted potentials for expanding them, this marketing method for subsidiary farming products still will not be able to occupy the same spot in the GDR as in the supply systems of countries like the USSR and Poland. The main marketing system for subsidiary farm crops will still be its being bought up by state and cooperative commercial facilities and communal feeding institutions.

Along with marketing there is another area, wage refinement, through which the supply efficacy of agricultural small-scale production can be heightened. Though the canning and processing of subsidiary farm products in one's own household is going to remain the main form of refining, to satisfy in-house demands, wage refinement, mainly in fruit and produce, will increase its importance greatly. That depends primarily on increased production and self-consumption of fruit and vegetables. That makes small-scale producers turn more to more highly refined products (juice, wine).

The BHG plays an increasing role in the wage refining of fruit and cider, juice and fruit wine. While maintaining the extant capacities in the state-owned fruit and produce processing enterprises, an expanded wage refinement will come mainly through BHG processing capacities. In 1984 the BHG had 18 cider presses and two that were working together with socialist agricultural enterprises. They turned more than 10,000 tons of fruit from small-scale producers into ciders, juices, and fruit wines. No economically relevant market production is possible with the prevailing processing capacities; it would in fact rather contradict the social concern of wage refinement. One does practice, however, cooperation efforts for state-owned fruit processing enterprises in slump periods. That guarantees an all-year capacity utilization of the processing potentials set up within the BHG framework.

On the Efficacy of Economic Inducements for Personal Small-Scale Farm Production

The development of individual small-scale farm production can, under the conditions of socialist commodity production, be relatively strongly affected through economic levers. That, among other things, is due to that

- small-scale farm production is predominantly "leisure-time" production,
- the individual producers, to be able to engage in or expand small-scale production, need relatively small basic assets,
- the proportion of live labor is relatively large compared with the embodied labor, which lends a high flexibility to small-scale production, and
- production is not linked to any plan quotas.

The focal point in the small producers' economic interest are the farm production prices, the prices for the means of production for individual small-scale production, and the retail sales prices for food. The level and fluctuations of these prices control the income from personal small-scale farm production. That income in the final analysis is the crucial basis that generates the small producers' economic incentives. That also includes the income generated by saving the money otherwise spent on food, as it comes out of one's own production. Proceeding from there, the socialist society then faces the task to set the above mentioned prices in such a way that the small producers' economic interests are harmonized with the social ones; prerequisite to implementing this basic price setting task are concrete ideas about the intended development of personal small-scale farm production. In this manner the specific effects emanating from the three price forms on the economic interest of the small producers can be accounted for comprehensively and controlled by way of planning.

Producer prices for subsidiary farm products were revised in the wake of the agrarian price reform. The idea was to increase the small producers' willingness to produce as market commodities certain livestock and crop items needed from the vantage point of the economy, the division of labor, and the provisioning policy. That was brought about primarily by differentiating in the price hikes for the individual small-scale producers. Livestock production examples can serve to show that (cf. Table 5).

As a result of the agrarian price reform the direct income from small-scale production rose by circa M 400 million. In addition there were income boosts through increased production and indirect effects on the small producers' purchasing power through either raising or trimming their own production.

Through a deliberately differentiated increase in producer prices the individual producers were purposefully motivated to expand the market production of traditional commodities (cattle, rabbits, honey, wool, tobacco, fruit and produce varieties such as apples, pears, plums, cucumbers, tomatoes, asparagus) or greatly to increase commodities thus far only bought up to a minor extent, so that inventories in that area would become more strongly supply-effective

Table 5: Higher Sales Prices 1983/1984 per Production Unit (percent 1983 = 100)

eggs	111
pigs	115
cattle	127
rabbits	155
fatted geese	154

(geese, turkeys, ducks, medicinal herbs and spices, flower-bulbs, and special fruit and produce varieties like cherries, or gooseberries and currants). And considering the stability of retail prices, the assumption was that sales being given higher economic incentives, the historically grown ratio between own consumption and market production would decisively change in part.

The differentiated price level for subsidiary farm products before the agrarian price reform and the uneven yet strong backing of products brought it about that the prices for subsidiary farm products now lie either below or above those for the products of the socialist agriculture or are identical with them. The main cause for the deviations lies in the smaller outlays for embodied labor. Important means of production used in private farming such as fertilizers, seeds, energy, and appliances and tools are sold to the small producers out of the "house-yard-garden" category at subsidized final consumer prices, by dint of which the costs for subsidiary farming do not fully reflect the socially needed production costs. The "trimming" of expenditure in embodied labor that causes shows up in the producer's price as a deviation from the producer's price in socialist agriculture.

Analogous effects are seen by not including parts of live labor in the costs of individual production. The deviation between costs and prices as between individual and socialized production, which is going to increase in the years to come, must thus not be interpreted as either a higher or lower effectiveness of either agricultural sector. It results primarily from the diverse principles in cost accounting.

From analyzing the effects of the new producers' prices for individual producers it follows that positive effects were achieved through introducing them on boosting production and sales as well as on the intended changes in the production structure of the private sector. In 1985, 25 percent more products from the individual sector were bought up than in 1981.¹¹ The increase rates were especially high for poultry (+ 205.8 percent), rabbits (+ 150.4 percent) and honey (+ 69.8 percent). But also for some fruit and produce varieties the state purchasing volume grew extremely fast. In comparing average purchases of 1981/83 with those in 1985, volumes increased perceptibly in gooseberries (+ 171.8 percent), sour cherries (+ 234.7 percent) and plums (+ 339.1 percent).

All told, one may draw the inference from the small producers' conduct in the years after the agrarian price reform that they have been reacting quite vigorously to the price changes. It means that through targeted price changes economically necessary production conversions can be introduced fairly quickly. What opposes the price flexibility, however, is that even small producers do not like to forgo production experiences. For that reason they show relatively little interest in changes in the incentive system. Stable conditions for producing income is their way of understanding what proper systematic production amounts to. They assume there that production prices, prices for the means of production and final consumer prices effective over the long haul will give them the chance to reap a safe, high and, above all, replicable income.

Our surveys also have established that the efficacy of economic incentives for subsidiary farm production is affected not only by the interaction among the

three price forms, the price level and the price ratios, but also by the diverse production conditions among the small producers. They lead to distinctions in costs among the private producers. They in turn are an essential cause for differences in income per production unit and, hence, for the formation of diverse territorial economic interests on the part of the small producers.

One factor that especially differentiates the income from subsidiary farming pertains to the costs for feed, seeds, and young animals. Apart from the government prices for feed, seeds and young animals, the bases for projecting the producer's prices at which the small producers usually buy these means of production, the cooperative farmers still get means of production at intra-enterprise clearing prices that normally deviate from state prices. The full membership or the board of the LPG decides the size of that intra-enterprise clearing. Though most LPG's have charged their members higher prices for feed, young animals, seeds, fertilizers and other things since 1 January 1984, the differences among these prices between the LPG's and thus also those between the income per production unit of the small producers are quite considerable in part.

Along with the differences in costs for embodied labor there also are the non-uniform natural production conditions that affect the differences in income per production unit. That includes the territorially highly diverse agricultural acreage per inhabitant and thus the uneven opportunities to treat residual and split acreages individually, the differences in green spots in territories, and the uneven climatic conditions for fruit and vegetable growing. Such uneven natural preconditions cause territorially uneven shares by individual producers in the state totals in livestock production, fruit and vegetables, tobacco, produce and flower seed and flower bulbs. The last mentioned cultures, the production of which calls even in the individual sector for much expertise, specialized knowledge and production experience, are then also mainly handled by cooperative farmers and workers, as they take care of such products in the socialist agriculture as well.

The differentiation of income per production unit is the main cause for the territorially uneven economic interests by the small producers in producing certain commodities for the market. Then there also is the territorial supply situation which, e.g., even with production being on one and the same level, causes differences in relating to in-house consumption and market production.

Further improving the efficacy of lending economic incentives to subsidiary farming can come only from closer ties with the management and planning in this sector. Closer concerted action of all the three elements of the management, planning, and effective accountancy system is imperative for perfecting the merchandise/money ratio as a tool for socially promoting subsidiary farming. Any isolated development of the pricing and finance system, detached from the management and planning system, makes it harder to establish conformity between social and individual interests. The complex working together of management, planning, and economic stimulation of subsidiary farming must in the future still more purposefully be directed at producing the kind of commodities that in volume, quality, and time of availability conform to the economic demands. For that it also is necessary to use more still the contract as an economic policy instrument for planned production. Especially the link

between contract and price, in our estimation, expresses also the specific socioeconomic character of subsidiary farming in socialism.

In conclusion the point ought to be made that subsidiary farming in the GDR's socialist society

--is an important political factor tied in with the demands and interests of millions of working people;

--is an important economic factor because it covers an important portion in the supplying of the population with foods; and

--is an important social factor in that parts of personal property are producing and contributing to better satisfying the working people's material and cultural interests.

Science studies ought to give proper attention also to subsidiary farming.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 40.
2. Ibid., p 39.
3. Cf. ibid.
4. That includes the small farms, gardeners and cattle breeders still surviving in parts after the socialist transformation of agriculture.
5. This is not contradicted by resorting to services or extra work done for the family by relatives, provided that in range, duration, and remuneration it does not resemble wage labor.
6. It is understood that sociological surveys are always mentioning first and foremost as a motivation the interest in keeping or breeding animals and in doing gardening work, or even love for plants and animals. Someone without interest in keeping animals or gardening is not likely to concern himself over a longer period and without considerable economic necessity with small-scale farm production.
7. Indirectly it even saves the social sector of socialist agriculture investment means, which otherwise would have to be placed for a commensurate production volume like private small-scale production. In this frequently mentioned utility aspect one must not overlook, however, that when prices are identical for the same products from large-scale and small-scale production, the small producers also in fact receive "amortization" in their price. Yet even when the prices are not uniform for the same products, one should have to check and see whether a smaller price for small-scale production is attributable to there being no "amortization" or to the small producers getting lower prices for certain means of production as "public demands."

8. Undesirable effects may also come with individual small-scale production in socialism, and there are various ways for opposing them. When the income becomes very big, some commodities become highly profitable and the volume of output keeps growing, some working people may lose interest in social production, or it may even cause petty-bourgeois, private economy notions and behavior. It may make great inroads on the time some small producers have and therefore interfere with the acquisition of higher culture and education on the part of those working people. Moreover, the old methods of peasant work (mainly heavy physical and manual, monotonous labor) more or less continues there. Lack of expertise may lead to excess application of chemicals (fertilizer, herbicides) harmful to products and the environment.
9. The 4 July 1985 law on the local people's representations in the GDR explicitly states: "The people's representations and the municipal and communal councils decide on the yield from subsidiary farming." ("Gesetzblatt der DDR" [legal gazette] Part I No 18, 1985 p 233).
10. While the number of purchasing shops run by the OGS combines in 1984 came to 411 in Magdeburg Bezirk and 356 in Dresden Bezirk, e.g., Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk had only 100 and Schwerin Bezirk, a mere 48.
11. The 1983/84 purchasing volume does not reflect the actual production trend because some of it was held back in 1983.

5885

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SADOWSKI EXPLAINS ECONOMIC REFORM PLANS TO WORKERS

LD141258 Warsaw PAP in English 0040 GMT 14 May 87

[Text] Warsaw, May 13--Bringing the issues of the second stage of the economic reform closer to the people was the idea behind today's discussions between vice-premier Zdzislaw Sadowski and workers of the "Chemitex-Wistom" plant at Tomaszow Mazowiecki, central Poland.

Following is part of what Sadowski told the workers according to PAP reporters. The first part of the meeting was carried on Polish TV:

The reform we are trying to implement should scare no-one, certainly not those working diligently and with initiative.

I have been engaged in the struggle for economic reforms for a long time. At this time, I have been vested with considerable responsibility for implementation of the second stage. Of course, it feels very strongly. [as received]

Obviously, it is not sure at all if it is possible to carry out our plans fast. The point is not to make something entirely new, but speed up a process we have been trying to set in motion for five years now.

It is clear I am not going to do it myself. What I can do is arrange groups of people and lead them. Since I know what is to be done, I am not scared by the job. The biggest problem is that the process is long and arduous and produces thousands of problems and difficulties which must be labouriously solved.

Appropriate forms should be found in relation to monopolists so as to force them to bear responsibility for failing to meet their obligations. They should also bear influence in the direction of rapidly adjusting them to market needs.

In reality we have a significantly broader scope of monopoly because all "sole producers," including manufacturers of co-production products, hold a privileged position. There is a great number of them in Poland and they are often quite small plants. The process of creating competitive enterprises should be broadly developed. In the second stage of the reform we are ready for this.

We intend to create a small, efficient government committee to remove bureaucratic barriers, to "clean-up" regulations.

In cases when the barriers concern interpretation and stem from traditional stances of the administrative apparatus, the committee will be able to coerce a change in these stances.

On the other hand, if there is the question of using former legal regulations, of getting thousands of various go-aheads, we will strive to remove impractical regulations and marshal the law. This process, nonetheless, will take time.

We still have an unbalanced market and there is a lack of continuous supply. Goods surface and disappear. Even in places where it seems that the market has been balanced it turns out to be momentary. In this situation one should above all secure a rapid increase in the accessibility of market goods.

In general, however, respective markets are gradually beginning to come close to equilibrium.

According to some experts who are not prone to praise reality we are not far away from this balance.

At the same time, there is a factor which seriously hampers the process of restoring balance. This factor is an excessive, as compared to Poland's capabilities, growth in wages and money incomes of the population.

/8309

CSO: 2020/111

ENERGY-SAVING MEASURES IN CHEMICAL INDUSTRY

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 10, 6 Mar 87 pp 8-9

[Article by Nicoleta Hornianschi: "Advanced Technologies in Support of the Reduction of Energy Consumption"]

[Text] Energy conservation, especially under the conditions specific to the chemical industry, is a complex process that also presupposes, along with the reduction of energy consumption, the growth of the efficiency with which the energy consumed is utilized. Referring to the need to reduce material and energy consumptions and comply directly with the consumption norms, the secretary general of the party pointed out in the address at the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 20 February 1987: "...the problem of complying with the consumption norms is an essential problem for securing the proper performance of economic activity, for the general development of our country."

In this context, the action to conserve energy resources that is going on in the chemical industry takes on special importance, contributing decisively to the intensive development of production.

A big energy consumer on the scale of the national economy, with a high percentage in the total energy resources consumed in industrial activity--about 32 percent of electric power and 18 percent of thermal power--the chemical and petrochemical industry has gone through a series of distinct stages in the energy-saving policy.

1. The elimination of energy losses through the providing of rigorous maintenance and operation of the installations, which permits the complete avoidance of leakage of effluents, the reduction of useless excess air in thermal processes with a direct flame, the keeping of the thermal insulation of the equipment and conduits in perfect condition, etc. The expenses connected with the maintenance work devoted to stopping the leakage of fluids in the chemical industry are justified not only by the need to reduce energy consumption but also by the need to eliminate uncontrolled sources of environmental pollution.
2. The recovery of residual energy resources (low-pressure steam, hot water, etc.) and the complex utilization of manufacturing byproducts (hydrogen, carbon dioxide, fluorine, methane, nitrogen, argon, etc.) in order to reduce

material expenditures, expand the base of raw materials for other sectors of the national economy, and provide environmental protection. A few meaningful examples in this regard indicate the importance and scope of the effects obtainable:

The utilization of carbon dioxide coming from the manufacture of ammonia at the Fagaras Chemical Combine to produce methanol at the "Victoria" Chemical Combine will permit the reduction of the consumption of methane gas by about 0.1 tons of conventional fuel per ton of methanol and, at the same time, that of electric power by 1.2 kilowatt-hours per ton of methanol;

The recovery and purification of residual hydrogen and the use of it as raw material or fuel lead to annual savings of 0.5-1.0 tons of conventional fuel. For example, on the platform of the Craiova Chemical Combine alone, 10,000 cubic meters of hydrogen per hour, the equivalent of 30,000 tons of conventional fuel per year, can be saved in this way;

The utilization of byproducts from the iron and steel industry as raw material to produce valuable chemical components makes it possible to obtain savings of about 1.5 million tons of conventional fuel.

3. The modernization of the installations in the inorganic chemical industry, the chemical fertilizer industry, and the nonferrous metallurgical industry, both through the reduction of the number of technological phases and the utilization of superactive catalysts and through the redesign of conducting equipment in order to reduce the consumption of natural gas and electric power, especially on the ammonia, soda, carbide, and electrolytic aluminum installations. In view of the percentage that raw materials and energy have come to have in the structure of the production costs in the chemical industry (over 80 percent) and the limited amounts of resources, the need to reduce energy consumption--especially for energy-intensive products--as a sure way to give competitiveness to the products, particularly when they are in the initial stages of processing, seems obvious.

The modernization of technological processes is a decisive factor in the reduction of energy consumption. Thus, for example, at the ammonia installations put into operation in 1984, the cumulative energy consumption is about 40 percent lower than at the installations achieved in the 1960-1965 period. On the other hand, the improvement of technologies must be viewed as a continual process, because, even in the case of the same type of installation, such as, for example, the Kellogg-type installation for making ammonia, the cumulative energy consumption differs according to the improvements made in the installations.

Constantly concerned with meeting this requirement halfway, the specialists in technological engineering perfected a new type of reactor for the catalytic synthesis of ammonia (judged at the International Invention Show in Geneva), in operation at the Piatra Neamt Fertilizer Combine and under installation in Slobozia, which will permit the reduction of energy consumption by 10 percent, the growth of the production capacity for synthesis by 30 percent, and the reduction of the consumption of catalysts by 50 percent. At the same time,

improvements will be made in the CO₂-washing phase through the utilization of more efficient solvents, there also being planned the recovery of ammonia from the synthesis circuit through absorption in water and the introduction of hydraulic turbines for recovering the pressure energy of liquid flows.

Also in the field of inorganic chemistry, another product with a high degree of energy-intensiveness is primary aluminum. At present, in the producing countries, the specific consumption of electric power for obtaining primary aluminum comes to about 16,300 kilowatt-hours per ton of prepared metal (an average calculated for all of the nonsocialist countries). The most modern electrolysis capacities existing in the world operate with an electric power consumption of 14,000-15,200 kilowatt-hours per ton of primary aluminum, and some very improved installations (utilizing electric current with an intensity of 100,000 amperes) consume 13,000 kilowatt-hours per ton of prepared metal, with the efficiency of the utilization of electric power being 94 percent. The statistical calculations show that about 4 percent of the electric power of the OECD countries is consumed in the aluminum industry.

In the manufacture of aluminum in our country, the electrolysis technology with a Faraday efficiency of 90 percent was assimilated initially, and work is now being done to devise a technology with a Faraday efficiency of 92-94 percent. Although such efficiencies seemed hard to attain until a few years ago, the latest figures appearing in the specialized literature mention Faraday efficiencies of 95-97 percent. The reduction of the voltage in the electrolysis pots by about 500 megavolts is also being pursued in order to improve the energy performances of the process. The computerization of the monitoring of the voltage in the pot, along with the improvement in the electrolysis pots stipulated in the program for capital repairs on them, will help to attain these results. In addition, among other possibilities of improving the energy aspects of the manufacture of aluminum, the collection of the electrolysis gas in as high concentrations as possible and at as low flows as possible is planned, with the energy-costly ventilation plants, with a consumption of about 600-800 kilowatt-hours per ton, being given up.

Along with improving the present aluminum-making procedure, the specialists in the field also have concerns in the direction of achieving alternative technologies. The existing data indicate the markedly energy-intensive nature of primary aluminum, with the electrolysis of a ton of aluminum requiring two times more energy than for copper or polyethylene and five times more than for steel. This disadvantage of aluminum's in relation to the main competing materials can be offset by increasing the production of secondary aluminum in the total aluminum production, given the fact that the obtaining of a ton of secondary aluminum by melting aluminum scraps requires only 5 percent of the electric power consumption needed for obtaining an equivalent amount of primary aluminum through electrolysis. In this direction, in our country, there still are big reserves, considering the fact that the percentage of secondary aluminum in the total aluminum production is about 30 percent, as compared with over 40 percent in the industrialized countries.

As regards the manufacture of alumina, in Romania, by assimilating on an industrial scale the technology of calcination with recovery of the heat of the

gases and product, a cut in fuel consumption by about 20 percent is being obtained. Moreover, the replacement of the rotary-kiln calcination installations with installations operating on the basis of a static-kiln calcination technology, recently approved, whose main advantage lies in reducing fuel consumption by about 35 percent, is planned. In addition, as in other countries, a large number of studies are oriented toward optimizing the manufacturing flow, there being in view, in particular, the reduction of the volume of the evaporated solution and the raising of the degree of extraction of alumina.

Interesting results have also been attained in the field of the technology for obtaining alumina from nonbauxitic raw materials, a technology that, even if it cannot replace the procedure that utilizes bauxite as raw material, constitutes a alternative that can help to supplement it.

Referring to the manufacture of carbide, another product with a high energy consumption, the concerns having as a goal the reduction of the specific energy consumption are oriented toward the recovery of the energy of the process gases and the heat of the smelted product and toward the introduction of computer technology into the control and management of manufacture, which, along with the technological and economic advantages, will also help to reduce the degree of demand on the national energy system.

As regards calcined soda obtained through the Solvay process, as a result of the redesign of the equipment associated with the main manufacturing phases, the execution of it, and the introduction of it into the existing installations in the place of the present equipment, an energy savings about 18 percent above the level in 1985 is foreseen. The main ways to obtain this savings refer to: the burning of the limestone in horizontal kilns with a synthesis-gas-type fuel or in fluidized-bed kilns; the purification of the gases through mechanical or wet dust removal; the use of new types of coagulant to purify the brine; and the utilization of heat pumps to absorb the ammonia.

In the field of caustic soda for causticization, an energy savings about 15 percent above the level in 1985 is anticipated, a savings attainable through: the obtaining of the lime needed for the causticization of sodium carbonate by burning calcium carbonate in fluidized-bed kilns; heating with Dewtherm in evaporating the liquor; and the utilization of mixed installations for evaporation and smelting made from stainless steel.

The chlorine industry, strongly represented in our country by high-capacity electrolysis installations with a mercury cathode or with a diaphragm, constitutes another sector subject to an extensive process of modernization in order to raise the efficiency of energy consumption. To this end, the old installations, equipped with 100- and 200-kiloampere cells with graphite anodes are being reequipped with cells with titanium anodes, an action that permits the reduction of the specific energy consumption by 0.3 megawatt-hours per ton of NaOH. Notable progress has also been made in the field of diaphragm cells (two installations equipped with bipolar cells and titanium anodes are already in operation).

Going along the coordinates specific to the present stage of development, the activity performed in the units of the chemical industry is characterized by constant concern in the direction of saving energy resources by every means. Thus, in 1986, the drug enterprise in Bucharest, a big consumer in the capital's industry, acting along the line of the rational use and the economizing of electric power and fuel, achieved savings of 126.2 megawatt-hours and 2,485.4 tons of conventional fuel, under the conditions of 101.4-percent fulfillment of the commodity-output plan. These savings were achieved through measures of an energy and technological nature, among which the most important are: the modernization of the 6-kilowatt electric installation on the pumps of 128 MDS for recycled water; the improvement of the operation of the cooling station by installing an exchanger on the central cooling station; the reduction of the third intermediate phase in the Sulfametin-manufacturing cycle; and the recovery of reusable energy resources, concretized in the obtaining of 1,250 tons of conventional fuel per year from the dry steam and 4,125 tons of conventional fuel per year from the condensate resulting from the technological processes.

Since the chemical industry is a big consumer of resources in all categories, especially materials and energy, due to the specific character of the manufacturing processes, and in view of the fact that the results obtained at present along the line of reducing and improving this consumption, although substantial, are not wholly satisfactory--especially as regards compliance with the consumption norms--the necessity of increasing the efforts in this direction, along with their priority orientation toward the following, seems obvious:

A. The complete utilization of the recoverable energy potential, estimated at about 5 million tons of conventional fuel per year, in both the chemical industry and other branches, through suitable utilization measures such as: the installation of heat pumps; the complex integration of the chemical industrial platforms with those in other branches; the utilization of energy with low parameters in the urban heating processes; etc. Among other things, the matter of carrying out in this 5-year period many projects whose application will permit the recovery of about 150,000 tons of conventional fuel and, in consequence, the significant reduction of energy expenditures goes along this line. The recovery of flare gas at the Pitesti, Brazi, and Borzesti Petrochemical Combines is representative in this regard; we regard as an example indicative of the efficiency of the actions of cooperation for reducing material and energy consumptions the fact that, through the technological and energy integration of the Craiova platform, it is possible to obtain new products of a high technical and qualitative level, with savings of primary energy of about 500,000 tons of conventional fuel per year being attained at the same time.

B. The raising of the total energy efficiency at the big energy-consuming installations--for example, the hydrocarbon-pyrolysis installations--on the basis of the measures resulting from the application of the thermodynamic analysis, capable of indicating the main reserves existing.

C. The improvement of the existing catalytic systems and the implementation of new catalytic processes in the chemical and petrochemical industry, which will help to reduce energy consumption due to the drop in the reaction

temperatures and, in some cases, the transformation of some processes from endothermic to exothermic.

D. The intensification of the concerns for improving the technologies in the field of lower-tonnage and high-value products, of technopolymers, biopolymers, products for electronic use, and products with special uses in electrical engineering, computer technology, aviation, nuclear power generation, etc., capable of getting more out of the energy utilized. Thus, while the raw material (wholly energy) brings in about 30,000 lei per ton for plastic industrial products, it reaches a value of about 300,000 lei per ton for articles for medicine.

A future, qualitatively new stage in the energy-saving policy in the chemical industry, under intense preparation right now, along with the action of modernizing the production installations, consists of introducing unconventional energy sources into the industrial processes and carrying out operations or phases in these processes by means of unconventional procedures; the field of biotechnologies, the making of biofuels, the storage of solar energy by chemical means, and methanol cells are only a few of the future applications of unconventional energy sources. In addition, the wide-scale application of the processes of electrochemical reduction, of biochemical processes with higher outputs, of semipermeable membranes of the bare-fiber type for the separation of gases in the place of the cryogenic separation--energy-intensive--used at present, and of the procedures of heating with microwaves in the rubber-vulcanization processes are only a few examples of technologies of the future that will be concretized in substantial energy reductions, helping at the same time to raise the efficiency of its utilization.

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EFFECTIVE USE OF WOMEN IN WORK FORCE

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 10, 6 Mar 87 pp 13-14

[Article by Lucia Mihailescu: "Coordinates of the Employment and Efficient Use of the Female Work Force"]

[Text] The growth of the degree of employment of the female work force has a special significance both on an economic plane, in the sense of the utilization of a big part of the country's labor resources with greater efficiency, and on a general human plane, in the sense of the full affirmation of the woman's creative potential, of her complex personality, in accordance with her aspirations and modern society's requirements. "Our society," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "is proud of the fact that it has managed to provide to the woman a dignified place among the creators of material and spiritual assets, full equality with the man, real possibilities of affirmation in political, economic, and social life, in society and the family." The providing of this new position of the woman in society constitutes the result of revolutionary transformations accomplished in the economic and social sphere.

The Radical Change in the Woman's Status in the Economic Life of the Country

The transition to socialism provided for the creation of the framework corresponding to the requirement of the integration of women into social production. The constitution, the Labor Code, and the Family Code establish the woman's full equality with the man in all fields of activity. However, the "de jure" recognition of equality in rights meant only one step along the longer and difficult path of providing the economic and social conditions needed for the "de facto" achievement of this equality.

In Romania, the objective conditions for the manifestation of real equality among all working people, regardless of nationality or sex, and for the growth of the employment and efficient use of the female work force in economic and social activities were achieved gradually through: a) our party's economic policy, based on socialist industrialization, the wide promotion of technical progress in all fields of activity, and the harmonious distribution of the production forces throughout the country; b) measures to eliminate illiteracy and raise the degree of scholastic and vocational instruction; c) measures of a social nature.

While industrialization and rational placement of the economic facilities on the country's territory were the basis for the creation of new workplaces throughout the country, the introduction of technical progress into the economy changed the content of labor, led to the reduction of the physical effort in many trades, giving women access to once inaccessible activities. In view of the woman's role in demographic growth, in the formation and education of the younger generation, the growth of the degree of participation of women in material and spiritual production was thought out and worked out by means of a set of measures of a social nature involving: the improvement of the living conditions and the state of health; care for the mother and child, in general, and for employed women, in particular, in order to be able to also perform the maternal function well; the development of the system of preschool units; material support for families with many children; the expansion of the sphere of services and the lightening of housework; etc.

The application of the measures established by means of the decision of the RCP Central Committee in June 1973 on the growth of the role of women in the economic, political, social life of the country has made an important contribution to the growth of the female work force in the economy and to the change in the structure of employment. Among the more important measures we mention: the preparation of the list of trades, specialties, and functions that can be performed by women, the establishment of the percentages that the female work force must attain in various branches or trades, and the creation of the conditions that would favor the heavier attraction of women into production. As a result of these measures, in the period of socialist construction, against the general background of the employment and efficient use of all labor resources, an intense process of attracting the female work force to social production activity has taken place.

The Main Features of the Employment of the Female Work Force

A number of features of the process of employing the female work force in useful economic and social activities appeared in the course of recent decades. Among the more important are:

a) The growth of the employment of the female work force especially in the category of worker personnel found mainly in the state sector. The concrete methods of accomplishing this process, in various stages, were determined by the specific conditions, the demoeconomic requirements, and the possibilities existing in Romania. Thus, in the last 25 years, female worker personnel rose 3.4-fold, while the total number of employed women rose only 1.05-fold. In the period of the 1950's, although the female labor resources in our country had a higher degree of employment than in other socialist countries, they were used mainly in agriculture. Due to the low utilization of worktime and due to seasonal work, women were not employed fully and efficiently in social production activity and represented a big reserve of manpower. Beginning with the 7th decade, as a result of the growth in technical equipping and labor productivity, agriculture began to release manpower. On this basis and through the attraction of persons from the home population, female worker personnel increased at an average annual rate of 3.2 percent in the 1961-1985 period, far higher than for male worker personnel (2.8 percent).

The intensification of the employment of the female work force, especially after 1966, is eloquently demonstrated by the fact that, in the 1966-1984 period, the density indices for female worker personnel, calculated per 1,000 inhabitants of female sex or per 1,000 women of working age, rose very greatly (from 121 to 257 and from 223 to 495, respectively), the female worker personnel per 1,000 employed men rose from 386 to 638, and the percentage of women among worker personnel rose from 27.8 percent to 39 percent.

b) The numerical growth in the female work force under the conditions of big changes in the rates of activity specific to the various age groups, in the context of the qualitative changes in the field of education and social security. The generalization of gymnasial education (1961) and of the first stage of secondary school (1974) and the rise in the degree of inclusion of young women in colleges, respectively, caused--in the period between the 1956 and 1977 population censuses--the reduction of the rates of female activity in the 14-19-year group (from 75 percent to 27.6 percent) and the 20-24-year group (from 78 percent to 75.6 percent), respectively. In addition, the establishment of a 5-year lower pensioning age for women than for men (as a result of considering the higher degree of stress due to the woman's many functions in the family and society) and the reduction of the pensioning age by 1-3 years, depending on the number of children borne and raised, led to the reduction of the rates of activity from 70.3 percent to 62.8 percent in the 50-55-year age group and from 46.1 percent to 15.5 percent in the 60-years-and-over group. On the other hand, the rate of activity of the female labor resources of 25-49 years of age is characterized by a marked increase, which denotes, in fact, the rise in the degree of employment of the available labor resources.

As a result of the growth of the woman's role in economic and social life, Romania is among the countries with a high level of employment of the female work force. Thus, at present, 41 percent of the total female population is employed in various fields of activity, with women constituting nearly 45 percent of the employed population and 39 percent of the worker personnel. With these percentages, Romania is at the level of the majority of the socialist countries and, in general, above the level attained by the developed capitalist countries.

Qualitative Transformations in the Structure of the Female Work Force

However, the most important changes in the employment of the female work force in the years of socialist construction did not consist of their numerical growth but of the changes of a structural and qualitative nature.

The strong growth in the female work force was accompanied by profound changes in the structure of employment according to sectors. Among the changes in the last 2 decades we note: a) while the number of women employed in the primary sector fell to half, the number of those employed rose over fourfold in the secondary sector and over 2.5-fold in the tertiary sector--with favorable effects on social labor productivity; b) despite the heavy shift of female population toward nonagricultural sectors, the primary sector still has the highest percentage in the total women employed (37.8 percent), but with the tendency to be equaled by the secondary sector, which upped its percentage in the

employment of the female work force from only 9.2 percent in 1960 to 35.3 percent in 1983; c) although, from the angle of the distribution of the female work force employed in the three sectors of activity (primary, 37.8 percent; secondary, 35.3 percent; tertiary, 28.9 percent), Romania has departed considerably from the makeup presented by the developing countries (primary, 66.3 percent; secondary, 16.3 percent; tertiary, 17.4 percent--in 1980), it nonetheless differs even more from that of the countries with developed economies (primary, 13.7 percent; secondary, 29 percent; tertiary, 57.3 percent).

Of course, the evolution of the employment of the work force according to sexes and sectors of activity was determined by the level of development of the production forces in our country, by the steady rate of industrialization, based on the promotion of technical progress, which, considerably lightening the work, provided not only for the growth of labor productivity but also for the employment of women in branches, sectors, trades, and professions traditionally reserved for men. This evolution bears the stamp of the efforts that Romania had to make in order to raise itself to the stage of a modern industrial-agrarian state, which required the concentration of the employed population, including women, in the sphere of material production. In this situation, the development of the tertiary sector was conditioned by the level attained by the labor productivity in the other two sectors. In proportion to the growth of the labor productivity in the other sectors, it will be possible to increase the employment of the female work force in the tertiary sector.

Under the impact of technical progress, which lightened the work in certain production branches and trades, important changes in the socioprofessional structure and changes in the employment of the female work force according to branches of the national economy occurred in socialist Romania. For both sexes, but especially for women, the growth in employment in the category of worker personnel represented largely the consequence of the influx of manpower to the nonagricultural branches from agriculture. This influx was possible due to the growth of the degree of mechanization of the work in this sector and was favored by the action of the factors of material and social encouragement. The growth of the percentage of female personnel by more than 36 percentage points in the last 25 years and the almost equal reduction in the percentage of women in the category of cooperative peasants in the total women employed represent ways to increase production and social labor productivity.

The major qualitative processes that occurred in the employment of the female work force according to economic branches are obvious if we bear in mind the fact that, while the number of women employed fell to half in agriculture and fell by one-fourth in the branch of administration, the number of women employed rose nearly fivefold in scientific research and nearly fourfold in industry. At the same time, it is remarkable that women now represent over half of the work force in agriculture, telecommunications, commodity circulation, education-culture-art, health, and financial institutions, as compared with only three branches in 1960 (agriculture, health, and education).

The analysis of the evolution of the employment of the female work force according to branches of activity occasions the detection of characteristic trends: a) the impressive presence of women in all fields of activity and the

considerable expansion of the range of professions for women; b) the employment of the female work force in branches that require high qualifications (science, education, industry); c) the employment of women in branches that permit better utilization of the female work force's capabilities (telecommunications) and provide for the release of the male work force for more efficient use in other activities; d) the orientation of the female work force toward branches and fields of activity related to the contemporary scientific and technical revolution. As a result, the female work force's participation is high not only in traditionally "female" branches (the garment industry, the textile industry--where it represents about 80 percent) but also in other branches that have undergone great development in the general process of modernization of Romanian industry: over 50 percent in electronics and automation, nearly 40 percent in chemistry, nearly 30 percent in machine building.

The policy of sensible distribution of the production forces throughout the country and of development of the lagging counties also conferred on the employment of the female work force a new aspect on a territorial basis. The gap between counties from the angle of the percentage of women among worker personnel was cut greatly in the last decade and a half. In this regard, it is significant that the percentage of women among worker personnel rose more (by 12-14 percentage points) in Olt, Ialomita, Caras-Severin, Buzau, Bistrita-Nasaud, Neamt, and Salaj Counties, characterized by a lower level of this indicator. Nevertheless, big differences still exist on a territorial basis regarding the degree of employment of the female work force, due to the big disproportions in territorial development inherited from the past, the insufficient diversification of industry in some counties, and the lower territorial mobility of the female labor resources than of the male labor resources.

The continual rise in the level of vocational instruction and training of the female work force, which permitted a new, more efficient division of labor according to sexes and, at the same time, favored the continual growth of social labor productivity, constitutes another qualitative transformation that was the basis for achieving the above-mentioned structural and qualitative changes. The qualitative leap produced in the field of vocational instruction and training of the female work force is very obvious; in contrast to the past, when women had the main percentage among illiterates, they now have a predominant percentage among personnel in education and culture (65 percent), and their percentage among worker personnel in science (43 percent) exceeds that of women among total worker personnel (39 percent).

As a result of the rise in the level of vocational instruction and training, the whole process of employment of female labor resources was interwoven with efficient utilization of the work force, with positive consequences for growth in social labor productivity. If we consider the fact that the employed population rose 26.4 percent in the 1951-1985 period and that women have a big percentage in the employed population (45-46 percent), then it clearly follows that the growth of national income per employed person by more than 14-fold also represents largely the contribution of the female work force.

SUCSESSES IN APPLIED RESEARCH REPORTED

AU181548 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0850 GMT 18 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 18 May (AGERPRES)--Over the last two decades the technical and scientific creativity index has grown from 7.08 to 17.4 percent in Romania, this country standing among the world's first 16 in point of number of recorded inventions in a thousand inhabitants.

By way of contracts signed with productive units, the Romanian researchers make a direct contribution to [word indistinct] and long-term interest. Applying the results of research, as well as implementing the inventions and innovations has resulted in a sizable rise in labor productivity, a better capitalization of raw materials and lower power consumption. New mining technology, for instance, led to improved extraction of ores and nonmetallic substances. Tests resorting to ultrasound waves and penetrative liquids are conducted on all the mining equipment manufactured in Romania, this improving productivity 2.5 times. Plasma technologies stand at the core of productivity rises of between five and ten times. There have been assimilated various soldering materials, technologies and control methods proposed by Romanian researchers, thus conditions being created for specialists to manufacture important parts for the nuclear projects under construction. In the field of soldering, applied research has been very successful as it led not only to productivity improvements, but also to an average 30 percent cut in power consumption. Also along the line of diminishing the consumption of energy stands a recent Romanian technical development: the hot-gas automatic plate-shearing machine, of wide industrial use. Romanian techniques for brazing and soldering, cutting and plating, the laser and other high technology used throughout the economy diminish considerably the import of "intelligence" and enhance the export availabilities. Romanian-made friction soldering technology alone will diminish annual imports by some 20 million dollars. Under certain priority programs Romanian researchers develop flexible fabrication systems, installations and methods for vacuum metal molding and coating, equipment for fault detection, meterology, spectroscopy, as well as magnetic, piezo-ceramic, semi- and super-conductive, optoelectronic materials, isotopes, etc.

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PRODUCTION, EXPORTS OF 23 AUGUST WORKS REVIEWED

AU261021 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0738 GMT 26 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 26 May (AGERPRES)--The "23 August" works has earned its fame of standard unit of the Romanian machine-building industry for a long time now, being the biggest and most dynamic supplier of equipment for almost all the national industries. The metallurgical combines of Galati or Calarasi, the large petrochemical units of Borzesti, Fagaras, Slobozia or Pitesti, hundreds of other enterprises in the country, which produce construction materials, ships or chemicals, also have machinery and equipment bearing the trademark of the Bucharest works. This remarkable unit turns out locomotives, industrial equipment, internal-combustion engines, equipment for the metallurgical, chemical and construction materials industries, cast parts and forging outfit which are exported to scores of countries like the USSR, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt. Its main beneficiary of engines and metallurgical equipment is the USSR.

This genuinely industrial center where nearly 20,000 people work has complex units, equipped with modern machinery, which operate as separate entities. The works undergoes a vast modernization process, applies top technologies in the casting-forging sector as well as in the one which produces engines, locomotives or technological equipment. The cast and forged parts plant, where five thousand people work, turns out annually some 70,000 tons of pig-iron, steel and non-ferrous parts, meeting at the most the requirements for locomotives, compressors and brakes. The automatic vacuum casting line also operates there, achieved in cooperation with the professors and students of the polytechnic institutes of Bucharest, a line owing to which labor productivity doubled, metal consumption lowered 20 percent and working conditions improved radically. Another plant is specialized in the manufacture of hydraulic diesel and electric diesel locomotives (about 300 a year) having powers between 180 and 2,400 h.p. of which 65-70 percent are exported. As a matter of fact, the Bucharest works helps the modernization of railway transport together with the "Electroputere" enterprise in Craiova, the products of which it exports to 30 countries like Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt and Poland.

The engine manufacturing unit puts in motion locomotives, drilling rigs, river-going ships and tip lorries of 50 and 100 tons. It turns out 2,000 engines a year but, subsequent to improved technologies, it will produce 6,000 annually. The universal machine tools are replaced by the digitally controlled ones manufactured in the country, which can be part of completely electronized and robotized flexible technological lines. In fact, its most remarkable achievement is the fully robotized flexible line which can work 152 differing parts. And this, in accordance with the current development program of the works which stipulates growing technological complexity--around 1.8 times--as to the manufacturing program for 1984-1985.

Finally, the complex technological factory also operates within "23 August", which produces equipment for construction materials (cement mills for the country and abroad), metallurgical equipment, compressors for the oil, mining, chemical and nuclear power industries. The compressor building section also gets modern. In the end it will have 14 more technological lines specialized by types of parts, owing to which productivity will be 3-400 percent higher with some operations and metal consumption will be cut by 30 percent. An outstanding achievement of this sector is the gas motor-compressor of 1,000 and 2,000 h.p. being the most complex equipment of the kind manufactured in Romania.

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PROSPECTS OF METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY

AU281743 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1654 GMT 28 May 87

[Text] Bucharest, 28 May (AGERPRES)--Till 1990 the Romanian metallurgy will achieve a steel output of 20-20.5 million tons a year, that is almost 50 percent bigger than the plan provisions for 1985. To attain such an average annual rate--about 8 percent--the existing units will be better used, especially those in Galati, Tirgoviste and Otelul Rosu, and a converter-equipped steel mill will be built at Calarasi. So, in comparison to 1985, substantial growths are to be obtained with metallurgical coke--73 percent, with pig iron--38 percent, with rods--55 percent and with steel pipes--55 percent.

The metal requirements of the national economy further entail the assimilation of new products just as the application and improvement of new manufacturing technologies. So, production will be renewed in a proportion of 50 percent as to its current structure, and the raw materials capitalization degree will increase 24.5 percent. The converter steel output will grow in the units of Galati and, from 1988, at the Calarasi combine. The steel works in Hunedoara and Resita will be updated by gradually turning the martin steel mills into converter steel ones so that the share of converter steel output in the steel production as a whole reach nearly 60 percent in 1990.

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ADVANTAGES OF PROMOTING SMALL BUSINESSES STRESSED

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 87 pp 19-21

[Article by Dr Marjan Rozic: "Socialism by the Spoonful"]

[Text] Where are we today with regard to small business? The position of small business in the country's economic structure has changed at any rate, but there has been no essential turning point in its development. Its share of social product in the economy as a whole is 5.3 percent, which is very small compared to the level of total economic development. In some opstinas this percentage has reached 35 percent. The rate of growth in social product of small business during the last 5 years has averaged 3 percent a year, that of the overall economy 0.6 percent, and industrial production 2.6 percent. At the same time, growth in the employment rate in small business has been 3.5 percent and the overall rate 2.4 percent, but only 10.4 percent of the total number employed in the country's economy has been employed in small business. The total number of independent shops has increased by 28 percent during the same time (and the number of employees by 36 percent).

The trend is moving in a positive direction at any rate, and operating results are more favorable compared with the rest of the economy. But we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved so far. The needs of the economy and the population, as well as the opportunities for developing small business, are far greater than the results achieved. In order for the share of small business in the economic structure to reach a level of about 20 percent—which, according to some estimates, would correspond to the level of development of our economy—it would need 12 years or more if it continues to grow at the current rate. Can we be satisfied with this, especially under the current crisis conditions? Development of small business in the social sector and by individual labor should be accepted as a call for well thought-out and prepared social and business actions which should carry out explicit social resolutions as persistently as possible.

Practices used in many opstinas in the country in which small business has developed substantially—for example Stara Pazova, Domzale, Pula, Zagreb-Dubrava, Novi Zagreb, Istok, Indjia, Ljubljana-Vic-Rudnik, Decani, Beograd, Vozdovac, etc.—influence and motivate in a stimulative and encouraging manner. An explicit development orientation, realistic planning, stable business conditions, and stimulative measures, above all in tax policy and

the like, contribute to this. The examples cited, as well as others, indicate that under existing business conditions and current regulations far better results can be achieved if the ideological orientation is clear, if a favorable social climate is provided, if development goals are asserted and the appropriate stimulative measures are supplied, and if all this is put into practice. Where this is not the case there is no corresponding activity, and this is cause for concern and for taking responsive action.

Why do results lag behind possibilities? And in spite of explicit constitutional and political resolutions for developing small business, especially using privately-owned resources, it is worrisome that in practice we still see opposition, ideological confusion, vacillation, sectarianism, and dogmatism. One gets the impression that the current economic crisis encourages some areas of opposition even more, and there are few examples of it really serving as a call for more successful and economically mature development of small business--assuming that it really can contribute to a more rapid solution of the economic crisis, stagnation, and unemployment--and contributing to stable development. Many are sworn to developing small business in principle; they vote for fundamental resolutions, warn of the problem of unemployment, but do nothing when we need to put adopted policy into practice. From where comes this hypocrisy? In everyday life there are dogmatic perceptions that socialism is a society in which there should only be social (and some think only state) property and that there is no place in socialism for individual work using privately-owned resources. There are still perceptions that only what is state-owned is solely and genuinely socialistic.

We cannot continue to ignore all those perceptions and aspirations which see the essence of socialism in man, his creativity, and not in bureaucratic rigidity. It is an illusion to expect that the state will give out a little socialism to everyone. One must understand and accept that the essence of socialism is in humanity, initiative, labor, in changing everything which is not oriented towards self-management. And in countries of so-called real socialism, these dogmatic and ultra-conservative ideas are increasingly lost under the influence of contemporary opinions on the substance and social-economic essence of socialism. In other words, these perceptions are gradually being abandoned today, even where socialism has deep roots with a dogmatic appearance, and there is no reason to tolerate them under conditions of socialist self-management. Moreover, dogmatism in our society is a dangerous illness which has a serious effect on original and independent socialist development, based on self-management.

Dogmatic consciousness and the practice which results from it does not appear only with regard to small business or individual labor, but also with regard to self-management, democratic relationships, economic laws, the position of the worker as the subject of social reproduction, and the like. Such perceptions are, in fact, an expression of a bureaucratic-etatist consciousness and a practice which knows well that associated labor and workers are most easily and comfortably governed by etatist means. It is not particularly necessary to cite examples of this practice, but we must overcome them. We know that

the modern economy--and above all this has to be socialistic--develops and functions with a harmonious combination of priorities of large and small production units where the basic criteria of choice is high economic efficiency. In developed self-management production relationships, the development of large and small collectives is possible based on modern achievements regarding organization, information and technology, and large numbers of operationally connected production units which are specialized and adapt rapidly to the demands of the market, to new programs, products, and technology.

Opposition to the development of small business also arises out of fear of competition, loss of monopoly position; it is also expressed by those with autarchic ideas about economic functioning. Low level of productivity, static connection to existing, often obsolete, programs of production, obsolescence in technological development, and low level of knowledge of employees, are increasingly well-defined sources of opposition not only to small business, but to contemporary economic development as a whole. Typical examples are that small business is identified with the handicraft concept of work, with speculation, unjustified enrichment, with the a priori understanding that personal initiatives are in themselves something dubious, etc. In fact, those who have these perceptions are not primarily bothered by getting rich, but they show a fear of individual decision-making, of giving initiative and providing free choice between alternatives, restoring and confirming cadres through creative labor, etc. They are afraid of development which makes statist governing of independent, self-management social or individual economic entities impossible. In addition, the unlimited possibilities of seizing part of revenues from associated labor as well as increasing excise taxes create a situation in which in many social-political communities, especially opstinas, the development of small business is neglected, especially individual labor, because it calls for a certain amount of effort, while collecting money from associated labor does not take any effort.

A deeper analysis of all areas of opposition indicates that in fact they result from disagreement with the logic and laws of socialist goods production, with economic laws and the market, with the necessity for eliminating etatism and for strengthening and broadening individual initiatives and self-management in social reproduction. These and other areas of opposition conceal distrust in people's creative initiative, in their ability to manage social reproduction in a responsible manner and to open up new paths of development for self-management, and for overcoming the alienation of labor. It is clear that areas of opposition cannot be eliminated by some decree, or banned by some sort of directive. Above all, we have to overcome them by constant reinforcement of progressive socialist social awareness and by social action directed at intensive, successful, and contemporary development of all forms of small business, and by successful and effective results in its operation. This means not just by talking about it, but by planning, by economic motivation--it means by taking conscious action.

In addition to opposition which comes out of dogmatic awareness, one should also carefully consider warnings of working people and citizens who, by using specific examples, illustrate unacceptable phenomena of gaining wealth on the basis of monopolistic position, pointing to speculation, low tax with respect to earnings, more favorable social status of those powerful persons who have become allies of local or business bureaucracies. But here it is also necessary to find and to present correct and effective solutions for settling this practice. Monopolization, as well as much speculation, appear where supply is less than demand, where development programs for small business are not realistic, but where there is some form of concession decided upon by individuals in opposition on the basis of independent evaluation. We must work the other way around. Let us accelerate the development of small business capacities, let us increase the number of shops or offices, and supply and competition will be increased to foster selection, influence prices, quality, supply, consumer relationships, etc. In order to have a more orderly relationship between supply and demand and to accelerate small business development, it is essential to have a tax policy which stimulates overall small business development—as well as selective development—it must be directed in the way it functions, and it must be stimulative so that earned income is not used for consumption but for increasing economic activity.

Since the goal of socialism is a more prosperous society based on the results of labor, and not poverty and solidarity in poverty, then our obligation is to move ahead persistently, to facilitate and to broaden conditions and opportunities in order to be able to live better through labor, to reinforce those economic incentives which will stimulate investment of individual assets in the development of social reproduction, as well as in satisfying deficit needs. There will be an increasing number of individuals interested in investing their money earned through labor in small business activities if they are economically motivated to do this by the existence of stable economic conditions.

Socialist self-management must be a society of successful and economically rational economic activity, and, based on labor and higher income, increasingly better and more prosperous living conditions. Today it is illogical but it is nonetheless true that a citizen does better investing his personal assets in a bank and receiving interest, from which he can live comfortably, than one investing his money in business activities, earning money by working, and bearing operating risks. We are more readily reconciled with spending, with investments which are directed at consumption, than we are with investments which would contribute to increased economic activity and the economic strength of self-management socialism. We must provide economically and socially explicit and lasting responses to these and to other realities as soon as possible—moreover, it is essential that these answers be based on economic logic and socialistic self-management.

The so-called "gray economy," or, illegal employment, has introduced quite a bit of dissatisfaction among working people and citizens, especially producers of individual labor. This form of "business operation" makes up a rather large percentage of total social product and has been a serious

problem for quite some time now. One might ask: from where comes this large "gray economy?" The "gray economy" evens out the disparity between supply and demand and is the best indicator of the lack of development of various activities, especially service activities. All those who legally work in small business are against it because it appears as unfair competition due to nonpayment of social obligations. The "gray economy" also bothers organizations of associated labor which employ those who are moonlighting, because these individuals then work poorly at their job. Often they use socially-owned resources (tools, materials, etc.) for their own work and earnings. Poor pay in the labor collective is one of the reasons that an increasing number of workers are engaged in the "gray economy."

Is this situation a signal that we must seriously consider how to motivate every worker so he can earn more in the collective where he is employed including the possibility that working hours are observed, capacities are utilized, etc.? What would cause a worker not to take supplemental jobs, to choose work in small business as permanent employment? And here the question is raised: how can we overcome the present situation? The solution is not in banning this work, but in legalizing it in different ways. The best thing would be for these workers to be inspired to be included in small business, to decide on work using privately-owned resources in various service activities, and to give up their job to others who are seeking one. In addition, the practice of supplemental labor might be expanded as an auxiliary profession along with proper social supervision and under operating conditions which would be the same as those for small business. In fact, supplemental work, especially where needs for services are great, might be organized together with full-time employment through a cooperative, or in some other economically rational manner.

A rise in small business, in both the social sector and in individual labor, will provide for and contribute to structural adjustments in the economy as a whole and will stimulate increased economic activity based on application of modern science and technology. In other words, fluctuations with respect to development of small business are fluctuations which concern development, stabilization, and progress of society as a whole.

The following considerations are especially important for organized socialistic forces to operate successfully and for new practices to become established:

The greatest opportunities for developing small business are in the hands of big business, in associated labor, consequently, in the social sector. Economic development based on science and modern technology assumes the creation of a more diverse, more specialized, and more complementary economic structure which can be implemented more productively in smaller capacities; the formation of the kind of shops, programs, small factories and production lines which will represent a harmonious supplement to large and intermediate industrial and other capacities, and their large-scale assembly-line productions. In this way, a more complete utilization of installed capacities and invested assets is possible, as well as an increase in employment, a higher level of labor productivity, and a rational use of social resources. This

would create conditions for satisfying services, improving living standards, creating an extensive network of smaller organizations which would be sensitive to market conditions and which would adapt quickly to its demands. Freeing itself of miscellaneous, unprofitable production, and unnecessary import, big business needs to be connected to small enterprises, collectives, as well as to individuals working with privately-owned resources, it needs to initiate their formation, etc. Business decisions which are long-term oriented, economically rational, and which are based on technical and technological collaboration, are important.

We must develop small business as an integral and equal part of associated labor, as a part of socialist self-management. Small business work organizations should have up-to-date technology, be organized in a modern way, be flexible in the way they are organized, be promoters of innovation, initiators of new production programs adaptable to the demands of the market. It is essential that development of self-management is provided for so that workers employed in this sector of social and individual production have the same self-management rights and responsibilities as workers in the rest of associated labor. In the future, the development of contract organizations of associated labor should not be limited and restricted in time so that after five years of development they become organizations of associated labor [OAL]. They should, if they want it and fulfill the conditions, operate permanently as contract OALs. Otherwise, their development is of a temporary nature, with all the negative operating consequences this entails. This does not motivate working people to found new contract organizations of associated labor. Economic chambers might have to initiate business connections between small and large business by means of theme fairs, among other things.

Next, we have to support and guarantee that all forms of small business, including producers of individual labor using privately-owned assets, have the same social-economic conditions for doing business as the rest of the economy. If we want small business to develop faster than the rest of the economy, and this is one of our persistent resolutions, then it is necessary to create more favorable business conditions on a selective basis, proceeding from the principle that in small business as well income must be earned through the results of labor, and that this is a motive for doing business. From this point of view, it is especially important that tax policy, including the excise tax, be stimulative, that small business also contribute equally to satisfying common and community needs, that its financing be made possible under conditions equal to that of the rest of production, and that the export orientation of associated labor be stimulated, etc. We must guarantee that needed foreign currency in the economy's balance of payments is provided to meet the needs of small business in order to stimulate an orientation towards exports.

It is impossible to develop small business if the problem of office space is not resolved sooner. This is one factor which limits its rapid development. Necessary office space for development has to be provided for in every local community and opstina, its location anticipated in urban planning, especially

for service activities, and the economic reality of the current maximum office space of 70 to 80 square meters in private ownership must be discussed. We have to be flexible with regard to office space and make it possible to begin work and production in every available space, because only in this way can we create accumulation from which we can construct office space. If the current limits on office space are to be maintained, and this is clearly no longer acceptable, it may be a serious obstacle to developing small business. There is not enough accumulation to build the space using social assets alone without increasing investment from private assets.

With regard to the number of employees, the present maximum must be increased and raised to 10 workers, and to even more in some places, and at the same time the employer must be given the incentive to employ a greater number of workers compared to the present number, in an economically rational manner. Thus, the present situation indicates that only 0.6 workers come to one shop now, while the number of unemployed workers continues to grow, especially in economically underdeveloped areas of the country.

Investment of private capital in social production has been resolved in a normative sense but has not been given enough economic incentives, and that is why results have been minimal. This is also indicated by warnings that our workers temporarily employed abroad are not interested enough to invest their own capital in order to return or to contribute to the development of the country. In Kosovo, large assets of the country are offered for resale and purchase, but there is little interest in investing in economic activity and the like. One of the most serious problems is that in practice, especially with regard to imposing taxes, "private owners" are treated as citizens and not as businessmen who work and operate a business using capital which is privately owned. Legislation should treat a producer of individual labor as a business entity and this should also be the case in systemic decisions and measures of economic policy. This concept is found in the Constitution and communities of associated labor.

It is very important that administrative restrictions on the development of individual labor be noticeably reduced as well. It is necessary to support the initiative for the development of individual labor in retail trade, in tourism, in the area of intellectual services and in the production of social-sector activities. Initiatives exist, and there are even some examples for the use of private buses, movie theaters, dentist's offices, bookstores, galleries, and other activities. Why not, if they are operating within economic boundaries. It is not possible to establish any universal model beforehand and from one location, but basic criteria need to be determined more closely by law or by agreement. Republics and provinces need to carry out changes and make additions to their regulations which regulate the founding and the operation of all forms of small business. This also means implementing the resolution that every producer of individual labor register their activity where they have their permanent place of residence, and perform it depending on the demands of the market.

The procedure for obtaining a license for work and for forming a small business organization usually takes a long time and is burdened with large and unwieldy administrative procedures, and the operation of the business is burdened with excessive data, files, and reports. The current procedure for obtaining a license for work is encumbered by the procurement of a large number of different certificates and licenses (about 40). This presents an opportunity for subjective evaluations and arbitrary behavior of officials who do not observe agreed-upon positions and adopted development programs. However, the procurement of a license in some opstinas can be carried out in a couple of hours, while in others this takes months together with a lot of suspicion and mistreatment.

I support realistic but far more ambitious development programs and plans for small business. Economic activity by small business can and must grow at least two times faster than that by large business, and this should also be the rate of growth for employment. We need to revise and supplement existing five-year plans of development, or to pass special small business development programs along with them, proceeding from the position that small business' participation in total social product in the economy of every social-political community should increase to at least 15 percent by 1990. It is especially urgent that ambitious goals and tasks in the plans of all opstinas and cities be determined and carried out.

There are real prospects that during the next five years 500,000 to 700,000 persons now unemployed can be productively employed in small business, and that during this same period all those who want to return from temporary employment abroad can also be productively employed. SAWPY is obligated to create a far more organized and anti-dogmatic social climate for this development, to initiate activities in passing programs and economic measures in the delegate assemblies and self-management organs, to initiate responsibility for carrying out plans and agreements from the small business area, and to take a part in the exchange of experience.

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BISHOP FORCK INTERVIEWED ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

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[Interview with Bishop Gottfried Forck, of the East Berlin-Brandenburg Diocese of the Evangelical Church, by SPIEGEL editors Ulrich Schwarz and Wolfram Bickerich, in East Berlin, date not specified: " 'We Are an Independent Last Resort of Confidence' "]

[Text] [Question] Bishop Forck, the Socialist Unity Party [SED] is celebrating the 750th anniversary of the city of Berlin with great pomp. The Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenburg is also celebrating: it is scheduling a special church convention for the anniversary. Does the Church have reason to celebrate under socialism?

[Answer] It has reason to celebrate. This is made clear by the motto we chose for our celebration: "750 years of the Church in Berlin." The Church has always had ample room in this city. It is not an accident that the oldest document which shows the birth year of Berlin as 1237, comes from the cathedral chapter at Brandenburg.

If we are celebrating now, it is more of a remembrance of much that was good, and also a reminder with a view to things that were not good. If you want to start with the most recent past--naturally, the Church has failed under National Socialism. Only a minority assembled in the Professing Church; only a minority did something for the Jews. That is a signal to warn us that something like that must not happen again.

[Question] How do you assess the last 40 of the past 750 years? How do you get along with the anti-clerical socialist government?

[Answer] I hold a point of view which may perhaps seem peculiar to you: I think the Church, according to the statement of the New Testament, must live in the imitation of Christ. Christ said: if they persecute me, they will also persecute you. So it is a normal situation that the Church is under pressure. In some ways it is probably more difficult for us than in West Germany, but in a different way it is also easier for us.

[Question] So you see the Church in the GDR under pressure?

[Answer] Yes, but in a very restrained manner. In a different society, that is, here, it becomes clear that to be a Christian is not a matter of course, but that one can also have a different viewpoint. Whoever wants to be a Christian must expect that he does not automatically have access to all positions in the state since, occasionally, it is expected that anyone who has the right relationship with the state must also adopt the socialist ideology, namely Marxism-Leninism.

If one does not do that, if one draws consequences from one's faith, at first it puts one in a somewhat difficult position vis-a-vis the state, since the state considers it complicated to deal with people not toeing the "line."

[Question] The word "complicated" sounds very euphemistic.

[Answer] No. Take this comparison: In the Church's missionary practice, there were missionary schools in many parts of the world, mostly in colonial countries. Schooling was made possible for everyone, but basically it was expected that, afterwards, the pupils would be Christians. If they were not, perhaps despite being very gifted, then it was thought that they had missed the actual objective.

[Question] This Church practice was taken over by socialism?

[Answer] Yes. Here the state took over what it had learned from the Church as a bad example, precisely in educating youth. But the state is not doing itself a favor. It raises subjects, not people with independent opinions.

[Question] And in your experience, this has become worse in recent years? We have rather the impression that state-church relations have changed, perhaps even loosened up, since the first historic talk between the Church leadership and SED general secretary Erich Honecker.

[Answer] Something has changed indeed. The Church today officially is recognized and noticed much more by the state. The state even tries to make it clear to the outside that one desires to have good relations with the Church, for example, by reports in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on congratulating church leaders, or on other occasions. I suspect that the SED had not planned that in its original concept.

[Question] What was the original concept? Why did Honecker change course?

[Answer] I think the the original SED concept proved to be unrealistic. The [gradual] dying of the Church did not occur as expected. Although all young people were trained in Marxism-Leninism in school, the Church finds a strangely broad interest among youth, also. We just had a conversation with the state secretary for church affairs in which he told us that, in his opinion, religion had already existed before there was a class society, and that religion will still be around when there is no longer a class society.

[Question] So you assume that the SED did not turn around for tactical reasons, but rather, you consider the church policy of the SED a permanent strategy?

[Answer] I think so, yes. This does not mean that the SED particularly likes the Church. I would like to put it another way: contrary to their expectations, party and state see that the Church arouses great interest among people of whom they would not have expected it. A great many of the government leaders now expect that there will be a church around for a long time, perhaps forever. And the state has noticed that the Church has something to contribute. So something has actually changed in recent times, quite definitely in outward appearance. But the difficulties for Christians, for instance in school, have not yet been removed.

The conference of church leaders has tried for 6 years to have talks with the Ministry for Public Education. But the dialogue does not materialize. We are told that we, as Christians, have nothing at all to say. We are of the opinion that here it must be made clear what is what--does the all-round educated socialist personality in the education ideal automatically mean approval of Marxism-Leninism? Or is an all-round educated socialist personality a person who thinks in socialist terms, who is willing to take up the cause of others, even under Christian preconditions?

As long as that is not clarified, there really cannot be any meaningful work, and many people at the grassroots--in the parishes--feel uncertainty. They are afraid their children might be put under pressure, if they do not correspond to the state expectations of their attitude.

[Question] The Evangelical Church in the GDR sees itself as "church within socialism." Do you understand that as a mediating role between citizens and the state, or is the church to offer GDR citizens elbow room which he does not have anywhere else?

[Answer] I understand "church within socialism" as a definition of where it stands: we acknowledge that we live in an environment which calls itself socialist. At the time when this formulation was adopted, it was said very clearly: we are not a church for or against socialism, but within socialism. That is to say, we acknowledge socialism as the setting shown by God where we have to prove ourselves as Christians.

Sometimes this is interpreted on the part of the state as if "church within socialism" means unconditional acceptance of socialism. This was never so, and this is also not the intention of the Church. Yet some things happening under socialism can be evaluated positively. I could name a few things that I consider positive.

I have five children, Three of them, musically gifted, were accepted at the Berlin special school of music--after appropriate entrance examinations, naturally.

[Question] But then, you are a bishop; that does not entail disadvantages for your children.

[Answer] That has nothing to do with it; I haven't been a bishop for very long; none of my children, incidentally, were members of the FDJ [Free German Youth].

[Question] They can afford to be that nonconformist, since their father is privileged. An ordinary Christian is worse off.

[Answer] No, I am not [privileged]. The state offers my children outstanding special training with excellent teachers. I as their father have only to pay their living costs and a very low rental price, 50 Marks at present. I have compared that with colleagues, clergymen in the FRG, who wanted a solid musical education for their children and have to pay high tuition. That is unaffordable for you [in your country].

In socialism, it is not supposed to be a matter of how much parents can pay, but rather, to develop talents. Our state's educational policy--and I approve in principle--advances the children of workers and peasants. I do have misgivings, however, that someone is still considered a worker who acquired a college degree through later studies. The children of many state functionaries should also no longer appear as "children of workers" and be promoted as such.

[Question] And there is no discrimination against Christians in the state's educational promotion or within society? We know of many cases in the GDR where Christians are being disadvantaged because of their faith--which is actually not permitted under the constitution.

[Answer] There can be discrimination against those who try to live their faith. That is the problem.

[Question] And how do you solve it?

[Answer] Whoever wants to live as a Christian now, puts up a stake, risks something, which does not mean, however, that he cannot get ahead.

Someone who is not admitted to medical school because of being a Christian, can perhaps become a nurse and influence the people with whom he works, thus making his faith effective.

[Question] You demand a great deal of idealism of your faithful.

[Answer] Which exists in the GDR. In the last few days, I spoke with a young man about to be drafted, who said to me: "I shall refuse military service," he would never take up arms anywhere. I made him an offer: "Should I perhaps write to the secretary for church affairs? Shall I say: Because of his Christian conviction, it would be nice if you did not draft him?" He said: "No, I don't want that. I want no help from the Church, I must go it alone."

[Question] Would such help be useful?

[Answer] In some cases. We have a number of cases where we have addressed Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs: we do not think it a good thing when certain conscientious objectors, whose readiness for commitment is very evident, are punished by the state with imprisonment. If the possibility existed, they would perform a social peace service, for example, in a home for the aged or in a hospital. But this possibility does not yet exist.

[Question] And what did Comrade Gysi say?

[Answer] We did a vague calculation of that, once. In about 80 percent of the cases approaching the Church, we were able to accomplish something. This, however, is even truer for retroactive admissions to the expanded high school or university study, and also for the suspension of expulsion from studying at a university.

[Question] If a GDR child attends Confirmation instead of Youth Dedication, does this no longer mean that, later on, he will not be admitted to university?

[Answer] It isn't quite that automatic any more. This also holds true for construction soldiers, that is draftees who do not want to perform armed service. There were times when young men who only served as construction soldiers were not admitted to university, although this is not stipulated by law. We now have a number of such people who have been admitted to university. However, the opposite also still exists.

[Question] The Church is the only institution in the GDR which concerns itself with the problems of conscientious objectors. How many of them turn to you for advice and help?

[Answer] A great many turn to us. About 95 percent.

[Question] But with this, the Church gets massively involved in politics. Do you see yourself as a societal counterforce to the state party, the SED?

[Answer] No. I see that somewhat differently, because "counterforce" would seem as if we wanted to set [ourselves] up as opposition. This is not the case. The Church is the only institution under socialism which is not automatically bound in all points by state provisos. Thus it offers elbow room for all who come. Thus it enjoys the trust of many who are beyond the pale of the Church, although the Church and the Church leadership are greatly doubted by some at the grassroots level. People come with emigration applications, because of conscientious objections, with all sorts of questions, and they also ask the Church for help on travel permits within the framework of visits to relatives. We are glad to help if we can, and we spend a lot of our time on it--for instance, drafting appropriate letters, or intervening with state authorities.

Perhaps we should not speak of counterforce, but rather an independent last resort of confidence.

[Question] Because it sounds less political? At your Land Church synod at the end of April, the synod members certainly claimed a political role, for instance, by demanding more travel opportunities for all GDR citizens and greater legal protection against arbitrary acts by authorities. Is this not societal counterforce against the total authority of the SED?

[Answer] I would not say so. Rather, we act entirely along the lines of the Gospel. The Gospel, the spreading of which is the task of the Church, also has societal and political relevance. Relevance is least where injustice occurs.

Let us take the example of arbitrary acts by authorities. The Berlin-Brandenburg synod has decried that state employees do not have to tell citizens applying for a trip to the West why their application was turned down. Thus the state violates its self-proclaimed principle of equal rights of all citizens. The policeman, as an authority not bound to give information, can dispose of the applicant as if he were a nuisance: "That is none of your business. We made the decision." Such behavior creates the complex in citizens that the policeman is omnipotent.

[Question] Bureaucrats thrive on that complex.

[Answer] Yes, I believe that any police force easily runs this danger. It seems to be similar with you.

[Question] With this difference: we can legally fight against arbitrary acts by authorities, for instance, through administrative courts. In the GDR, the Church seems to be the only "recourse to the law" for ordinary citizens if he has to submit a grievance against his state. That is why most of the citizens come to you.

[Answer] That is correct. But I see it rather this way: the people concerned come because they think that representatives of the Church leadership can talk with state representatives through channels that are closed to them, and can make it clear to them: you must do something about that. And also because the churches are a last resort of confidence to which one can bring one's problems helter-skelter and without worry. This means that, actually, the appeal is to the pastoral function and it is expected that it functions reliably.

[Question] The socialist state claims this function for itself. The SED sees itself as the moral institution in possession of true salvation. The policeman who refuses to give information only executes socialist law. Why do you think that the state nonetheless tolerates the Church's attitude?

[Answer] I think that some functionaries of the state apparatus have strong misgivings about the action of the police and agree with the Church that this is not a good way to make citizens feel at home under socialism.

[Question] Does the SED listen to you?

[Answer] Well, it is definitely heard. Whether it is taken into account is another question. Our state has difficulty in living with freedom. I'll refer

once more to the duty to provide information. If the police do not give information on why a travel application was denied, it is probably also because they do not want to mention things which actually are not punishable under the law. Such as: "Well, dear fellow, if you don't go to the polls [to vote], you must not be surprised that we refuse to let you travel." But elections are free. It would show that they are not so free, after all, and that voting behavior has consequences.

[Question] The SED is not at all used to that.

[Answer] Yes, not at all used to it. You must understand that our state is perhaps undergoing a process experienced by parents whose children are grown up. Our state constantly has the one idea that it must patronize us in all sorts of things for our own good. It ought to finally realize that we are now of age. Then it could work much better with us. I try to impart this insight to the state authorities, also. I cannot say whether I have been very convincing so far; but some, I believe, understand that.

[Question] You think your state is able to learn?

[Answer] I think our state is able to learn. I believe that a system--no matter how strong it presents itself--does not always have to stay that rigid, but that it may change. This conviction is also founded in my faith. When I acknowledge that Christ is the lord of this world, then I also see Him as lord above the functionaries. And that says everything.

[Question] Do you think that Erich Honecker and his fellow comrades actually like the role which you claim for the Church in socialism?

[Answer] I believe they don't quite like it. There are also different evaluations on the part of the state. Probably there are some who see this role of the Church as positive and say: the Church is simply a necessary safety valve in our society.

On the other hand, I believe that the state is again and again faced with the realization which it cannot quite deal with yet, that one cannot get along with the Church quite simply by agreement, but rather, that ever new problems arise. A church, which is always asking anew what the Lord's will might be, cannot commit itself for today and tomorrow and forever, but rather it will say: yes, this is how it looks today, but it can be different tomorrow in another matter. And then we shall also say that.

[Question] Meanwhile this uncertainty also worries other people, even if for very different reasons. In recent years, the Church has become the only free space for some who actually have nothing to do with the Church, but use it only as a shelter--such as artists who have been banned by the state from performing. Some of your own faithful and fellow clergymen ask themselves what this has to do with spreading the Gospel?

[Answer] To be a Christian is only possible under the precondition that one is willing to enter into a dialogue with those who hold different opinions. And

sometimes it is the dissidents who pose the decisive questions. For artists performing in a parish, this means that they address their questions, radical questions, to society, and hopefully also radical questions to Christianity. That is not bad. It can even be very good. The question is whether, in the dialogue with them, one also searches together for new answers. That is why we say: it is too cheap if we only provide a room where the artists do their thing and then go away. And then the pastor perhaps says: let us pray for God's blessing—so that the affair has a religious ending. That is neither religious nor anything else, that is pure nonsense!

[Question] But the artists above all want to perform their program which they are not allowed to stage in FDJ clubs, or they want to read from their new book which they cannot present elsewhere. Is that part of the Church's tasks?

[Answer] Yes, I think so. The only question is what we do with it. If you wish: primarily, we have the task—and you can almost say, exclusively—to profess the Gospel and, if possible, live it. The only question is: what is part of the Gospel, what is the mission entrusted to us? I should think all areas of life are a part of it, life in society, life in the state.

[Question] Even the task to give shelter to minorities?

[Answer] Of course! Questions of humaneness, of better justice, conservation of creation. All these problems are part of it. If we were to suppress them, we would restrict the Gospel in a way that we are not permitted to do. Only, if critical cabaretists, songwriters or writers whose performances we make possible in our circle were to say: we don't want a dialogue, then they can just stay away. We are interested in a dialogue.

[Question] Some of the church members see that more narrowly; some Land churches have banned performances by artists critical of the regime.

Christian distrust is also growing vis-a-vis peace groups within the church: [the argument is] that often there are hardly any faithful active, but rather Marxists who abuse the shelter of the Church for opposition activities.

[Answer] We have many groups in the parishes, formed by people, sometimes up to half, sometimes even more than half, who are not members of the Church, who consider themselves Marxists, not in the meaning of the SED, but in a broader sense. In such peace groups, human rights groups and ecology groups we shall have to take care that their opinions are heard, but that it also gets said what has to be said from the view of the Christian faith. If someone says, this whole thing is too pious for me, I am not coming back, then one must say: goodbye, we are sorry you want to go, but go ahead and leave.

[Question] Not only among your Christians are you sitting between two chairs as bishop. State and SED functionaries also accuse you that you admit too much opposition spirit into the Church. On the other hand, some of your grassroots, particularly pastors and parishes engaged in peace and human rights, raise the accusation that you have long been a stooge of the regime, corrupted by privileges.

[Answer] That is indeed our situation.

[Question] And how did you get into it?

[Answer] The accusation that we are a stooge of the SED in part has to do with reporting.

[Question] ...with reporting in the FRG? Because there is none in the GDR.

[Answer] Yes there is. There is reporting about the Church in a certain manner. At the opening ceremony of the Luther Committee for the preparation of the Luther Year 1983, for example, Erich Honecker's entry with two bishops is shown, or GDR television broadcasts our opening ceremony of "750 years of the Church in Berlin." That immediately raises the question in the church: what's really going on? The ones on top evidently get along well with the mighty. But we down here have the same difficulties as Christians that we always had: in school, with getting admitted to university, because of refusing Youth Dedication. Or: we are not allowed to travel, although father just turned 83, while an acquaintance got permission to visit his 45-year-old cousin. True, one is normally very cautious about reporting by our state, but when the Church is praised in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, it is taken at its face value and people think: it is impossible how they behave.

What is overlooked by many: for effectiveness' sake, the constant and numerous efforts of the Church with the state on behalf of people must be carried on quietly. In the long run, this has a negative effect.

[Question] Spelled out, this means that the central organ of the SED does not report correctly about the church?

[Answer] Spelled out, it means that NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports onesidedly.

[Question] Out of ignorance, or intentionally?

[Answer] I think that, in principle, it's like this with our state leadership: on the one hand, it would like to demonstrate to the whole world that the church can live under socialism. The talks and negotiations are proof of that.

On the other hand, the SED continues to pursue this principle in public education: if possible, everyone who successfully goes through education should come out of it a convinced Marxist. This double strategy nurses the suspicion among those who have difficulties in school or training: something must be wrong there. Have they forgotten us? Are they embracing each other again? Have we once again come to this point? This often creates anger.

[Question] The state cleverly nourishes this anger through generous privileges for church functionaries. For example, church leaders have permits for trips to the West practically thrown at them. And many of them gladly take up the offers. So, have we really reached that point again?

[Answer] I try to travel as little as possible. Sometimes it is unavoidable. It is not that I wouldn't like to; but I would like to stay here since I know that so many others cannot travel.

[Question] So the criticism from the grassroots and individual parishes is not justified?

[Answer] Every individual sin--and surely there are some--justifies reproach.

[Question] Once more, from the heights of church leaderships back down to the lowlands of Christian everyday life under real socialism: you have conceded that, despite all friendliness of the SED vis-a-vis the church, discrimination against faithful church members continues, particularly in school and training.

[Answer] I even believe that these difficulties will go on for a long time. But we are not relenting in our demand. The aim of the endeavor is that a change must take place in this matter.

[Question] You have been trying for 6 years. And in vain.

[Answer] Yes, and so far there are no signs that anything is happening. But: a constant drip hollows the stone. We shall not relent on this point. I think the state is badly served if we knuckle under too much, but not all of my fellow clergymen are of this opinion.

[Question] If we understand you correctly, you assume that you will have to wait at least another 6 years for the talk with Margot Honecker, the Minister for Public Education.

[Answer] I don't want to say that. It can happen very suddenly. But it is true, there are certain people in the Ministry for Public Education who have not yet caught on to the SED turnaround vis-a-vis the church.

[Question] Do you think that atheist Gorbachev could help?

[Answer] I like Gorbachev very much with his peace initiative and other proposals he has made, particularly concerning the economy and political and societal processes. I don't think it is certain that he will also bring relief for the Church. I haven't read anything by Gorbachev concerning greater tolerance toward the Christian faith.

[Question] The problems of the Church in socialism could take care of themselves in a very different, natural manner. According to the Church's own data, your Land Church has lost half of its members during the last 15 years. Today, at most 30 percent of all GDR citizens profess adherence to the Evangelical Church. Do Christians even have a future in the GDR?

[Answer] The future of the Church does not lie in numbers, but rather, whether it wants to follow the way of Christ, or not.

[Question] Yes, but it does need people who follow that way, not just church leaders.

[Answer] That is correct. But these people, they will be there. A church in the imitation of Christ may be ever so small, but it has an emanating effect on its environment. Let us assume that there would be only 50,000 people in all of the GDR, but who hold fast [to Christ], then this would still have significance for the environment, while a church which might represent 5 or 6 million, or even 7 or 8 million, but does not follow Christ, is totally insignificant for society. That church emanates nothing, one can do wonderfully well without it.

[Question] Mr. Forck, if you could make one more wish: would you rather be bishop in the Evangelical Church in the other Germany?

[Answer] No. Although I am a native of Hamburg, I have been a citizen of the GDR since 1950. And I have never regretted having come here from the West.

[Question] Why not?

[Answer] I had the impression, especially at that time, that here the Gospel was accepted and absorbed by people attending the service in a way different from over there. Over there, there was already a certain amount of satiety after the currency reform.

[Question] Would you say that this is still so today?

[Answer] In a certain way, yes. To tell you honestly, I have greater difficulty preaching in the West than here. How people look at you during the service, how they go along—that is easier for me here.

[Question] Bishop, we thank you for this conversation.

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